

1993

A different drum: The forgotten tradition of the military academy in American education

Kurt Allen Sanftleben

College of William & Mary - School of Education

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**A different drum: The forgotten tradition of the military
academy in American education**

Sanftleben, Kurt Allen, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1993

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**A DIFFERENT DRUM:
THE FORGOTTEN TRADITION OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION**

**A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

**In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education**

**by
Kurt Allen Sanftleben**

February 1993

A DIFFERENT DRUM:
THE FORGOTTEN TRADITION OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

by

Kurt Allen Sanftleben

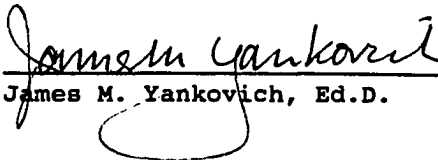
Approved February 1993



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I remember that when I was a young boy, my father's family would gather in reunion--usually around Valentine's Day--at the home of my Great Aunt Lulu. There, Uncle Harry would fascinate me with tales of his days as a young cadet at Western Military Academy, not too far from St. Louis. I also remember how, several years later, I was duly impressed while visiting a new friend, after discovering a military school year book--from, I believe, Indiana's Culver Military Academy--in which he appeared in a smart uniform with a Sam Browne belt while participating in such amazing activities as the manual of arms, sabre practice, or cavalry drill. And more recently, I remember how--as a new executive officer--my battalion logistics officer could so easily disrupt a staff meeting by regaling us with hilarious stories of his junior college experience at the Marion Military Institute in Alabama. To all of these ex-cadets, I thank you for spawning my interest in the American military school.

There are others I wish to thank as well. Thank you, Dr. Lee Harford, historian for the U.S. Army's ROTC Cadet Command, for your convincing argument that scholarly research about the few remaining articulated military schools and junior colleges was long overdue. Thank you, Dr. Al Dahler, Dean of Academics at Kemper Military School and College for your openness, honesty, and hospitality that made my field work a pleasure. Thank you, Dr. Jim Yankovich and Dr. Bill Garland, members of my dissertation committee, for your patient and constructive criticism. And, thank you Dr. John Thelin, my doctoral advisor and dissertation chairman. Your sage advice and wise counsel

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It is only because of the encouragement, understanding, and support you have all provided that I have been able to complete this dissertation and conclude my doctoral studies.

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**A DIFFERENT DRUM:
THE FORGOTTEN TRADITION OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION**

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate a little known and often neglected category of American education, the articulated military school and junior college.

Kemper Military School and College was chosen as the representative institution studied for several reasons: it has remained in almost continuous operation since its founding in 1844 at the height of the academy movement; it specialized as a military school in 1885 when the popularity of general academies began to wane; during the 1920s, it seized upon the rapid growth of the early junior college movement to expand in size and scope; and it was subsequently recognized by the American Council on Education for its attempts to integrate secondary and junior college studies.

It was hypothesized that although traditional academies had all but vanished and public community colleges had diverted significantly from the original junior college purpose, the articulated military school and junior college could have maintained a fidelity to the original missions of both. If this were true, then these schools would exhibit strong ties to their nineteenth century academy foundations, a demonstrated commitment to the original junior college philosophy, and a visible entwining of the secondary school and junior college.

Three overlapping qualitative techniques--documentary review, field observation, and personal interview--were used to conduct the

study. Resulting field notes, interview transcripts, and documentary evidence were then melded to provide a comprehensive historical analysis and an answer to the research question.

It was concluded that not only had the articulated military school and college maintained a fidelity to the original academy and junior college philosophies, but that these philosophies well serve current constituents. Such a finding suggests that other unique or forgotten institutions, ignored by researchers in favor of more current or fashionable models, might be every bit as enlightening and worthy of study as those of the educational mainstream.

KURT A. SANFTLEBEN

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

x

A DIFFERENT DRUM

THE FORGOTTEN TRADITION OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY

IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

The Problem

Introduction


"Southern school of distinction," an "environment of achievement," "small classes," "self-discipline," and "educational excellence" proclaim the ubiquitous advertisements for military academies that appear without fail in monthly editions of such magazines as Boy's Life and Southern Living.

Illustration 1

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Illustration 2



KEMPER


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- ★ Self discipline stressed
- ★ Grades 7-12 & Jr. College. Coed
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- ★ All major sports
- ★ Summer School & Camp
- ★ "Every cadet does every lesson every day"

701-3rd St., Boonville, MO or Call 1-800-553-6737

Kemper Military School and College Advertisements

Quite impressive. Yet, many a reader might question such pronouncements' veracity, conjuring up images of these schools as spartan reformatories for upper-middle class problem boys run by faculties and staffs of martialistic martinets. Further, that such schools might be coeducational and include junior college work seems, at

the least, especially odd. Difficult it is to resolve these divergent preconceptions.

Despite our stereotypic familiarity with American military schools from such movies as Taps (Jaffre & Becker, 1981) or Toy Soldiers (Freedman & Petrie, 1991), impartial examinations of these academies have been few and far between. Neglected by scholars who--often more interested with current educational themes or popular public concerns--have concentrated their studies upon the four year college or university, the two year community college, and the development of public education, academe has paid these institutions scant attention. Thus originated the purpose of my dissertation: to investigate the development of the mission, configuration, operation, and culture of this little known category of American education, the articulated military school and junior college. To do so required not only a thorough on-site study of a representative school, but that the study be conducted within a historical frame of reference built upon an understanding of two other often neglected institutions of American education--the early twentieth century junior college and the nineteenth century academy. Upon this foundation, historical documents were examined to trace the school's academic evolution which, when combined with current observations, interviews, and records, provided not only a snap shot of the institution as it is today, but an explanation of how it came to be the school it has become.

Review of Literature

The Junior College Movement. There are nearly 1,400 mostly urban, community colleges scattered throughout the United States. Together, they annually register over five million students in a wide variety of academic and vocational courses. Houston Community College, Macomb Community College, Northern Virginia Community College, and St. Louis Community College all enroll more than 30,000 students. Miami-Dade Community College claims an enrollment of well over 47,000--nearly the combined population of the flagship universities of Missouri and North Carolina. Another 125 public community colleges have student populations between 10,000 and 30,000. Enrollments range between 1,000 and 10,000 at more than 7000 additional schools (Chronicle of Higher Education, 1991). How different these institutions are from those of the early junior college movement.

In 1906, there were fifteen, small, mostly rural junior colleges. All, but one, were privately directed (Koos, 1925). However, by 1915, a shift from private control had already begun; about one-quarter of the nearly 2400 junior college students attended local public institutions. The increasing popularity of these community based schools became clearly evident in the 1920s when, although only about one-third of the junior colleges were public, these institutions accounted for over one-half of the total junior college population (Eells, 1940). Just as telling, several private schools claimed as few as six or seven students, while some of their public counterparts touted enrollments numbering well into the thousands (Koos, 1925). Clearly, as

shown in Table 1, significant changes were underway in the junior college community.

Table 1

Comparison of Public and Private Junior Colleges: 1900-1940

Year	Number of Schools			Total Enrollment			Mean Enrollment		
	All	Prvt	Pub	All	Prvt	Pub	All	Prvt	Pub
1900	8	8	--	100 ^a	100	--	13	13	--
1906	15	14	1	na	na	na	na	na	na
1912	42	34	8	na	na	na	na	na	na
1915	74	55	19	2,363	1,771	592	32	32	31
1922	207	137	70	16,031	7,682	8,349	77	56	119
1927	325	189	136	35,630	15,485	20,145	110	82	148
1935	521	302	219	107,807	32,954	74,853	207	109	342
1940	575	317	258	196,710	56,165	140,545	342	177	545

Note. Adapted from American Junior Colleges (pp. 18-19) by W.C. Eells, 1940, Washington, DC: American Council on Education, and The Junior-College Movement (pp. 2, 13) by L.V. Koos, 1925, Boston, MA: The Athenaeum Press.

^a1900 enrollment data from Gleazer, 1960b.

Although World War II temporarily interrupted this otherwise continuous growth, by the end of the 1950s, not only had the public colleges edged passed their private competitors in total numbers of schools, they overwhelmed them in numbers of students enrolled. During the 1958-1959 school year, public community colleges accounted for more than 800,000 students, while private schools enrolled fewer than 100,000 (Gleazer, 1960a). The relative decline of the private junior college continued throughout the 1960s, and by the mid-1970s, less than 25% of 1,200 institutions were privately sponsored (Cohen & Brawer, 1982/1989).

Today, there are only 426 accredited, private community colleges, not many more than in 1940. Together, these schools enroll a scant 5% of all junior college students. Only seven have more than 2,500 students, while 395 have less than 500 (Chronicle of Higher Education, 1991).

Accompanying these shifting control and enrollment patterns has been a significant change of purpose. Initially, junior colleges concentrated upon relieving universities of the preparatory burden incurred in the effort to ready students for advanced scholarship. In 1922, the American Association of Junior Colleges defined these schools as "institutions offering two years of instruction of strictly collegiate grade" (Bogue, 1950, p. xvii). However, within three years, the organization modified this description to concede that

The junior college . . . is likely to develop a different type of curriculum suited to the larger and ever-changing civic, social, religious, and vocational needs of the entire community. . . . (Bogue, 1950, p. xvii)

Accompanying this change was a curricular trend from fully prescribed programs toward largely elective courses of study, culminating with a general acceptance of specialized academic majors. Further, occupational preparation became a prevalent motive in student course selection (Koos, 1925).

Throughout the next thirty years, junior colleges continually responded to these vocational concerns, and by 1960, almost all of the 590 accredited public and private institutions provided at least one occupational course within their curricula. Most commonly presented were traditional classes in secretarial skills, business education, drafting, art, engineering, and laboratory technology. However, a few schools had begun to offer more exotic--at least for the time--study in

subjects like police science, recreation services, and aviation mechanics (Gleazer, 1960a).

When in 1947, President Truman's Commission on Higher Education emphasized the importance of continuing education, public community colleges were quick to respond. Most enthusiastically approved this new mission, as expressed--without so much as a nod to Ezra Cornell--by the motto of one school in Texas: "We will teach anyone, anywhere, anything, at any time whenever there are enough people interested in the program to justify its offering" (Bogue, 1950, p. 215). Adults flocked to the community colleges. Many sought part-time degrees. Others chose self-improvement courses in the great books, philosophy, political science, foreign languages, or current affairs. Some enrolled in training programs for new jobs or refresher training in their current fields. And, to the dismay of many state legislatures, avocational courses in subjects like fly-tying, ceramics, oil painting, and weaving mushroomed (Thornton, 1960/1964). However, by the late 1960s, a significant portion of this energetic effort had been diverted to a more severe social issue, providing a swelling number of unlettered high school graduates one final chance to master high school work through comprehensive remedial and compensatory studies (Cohen & Brawer, 1982/1989).

Certainly, the expansion of the American junior college movement was tied, as was the growth of American higher education in general, to the rapid mid-twentieth century increase in high school enrollments and a correspondingly increased demand for collegiate access. Yet, many have noted that the birth of the junior college occurred much earlier.

Some (Wilson, 1939) have argued that Lasalle Female Seminary, founded in 1851, was the first of these schools, while others (Gallagher, 1969) suggest the movement began in Michigan during the 1890s. Most common, though, is the claim--professed with varying degrees of certainty--that the birth of the junior college can be traced to 1902, when post-secondary studies were added to the township high school curriculum in Joliet, Illinois (Bogue, 1950; Eells, 1931; Koos, 1924; Thornton, 1960/1964). Even if one accepts the opinion of the majority and grants that the first junior college opened its doors sometime around the turn of the century, it is important to remember that this symbolic birth occurred only after a full fifty year gestation.

Higher education had long wrestled with the myriad of problems incurred by admitting ambitious, yet unskilled, young students. Many nineteenth century colleges--both in the spirit of Jacksonian democracy and fiscal necessity--accepted any student who applied with cash in hand, starting his studies at "whatever point his ignorance required" (Rudolf, 1962/1990, p. 282). To meet the needs of these unprepared matriculants, most colleges incorporated preparatory departments to provide the traditional "doses of Latin, Greek, and arithmetic" (p. 285). In fact, by 1870, only twelve schools in the entire nation had not done so. As a result of this preparatory burden, it was not uncommon to find colleges in operation for as long as eight years without having graduated a single student.

Further reflecting this populist nature came the public notion that college access was a birthright of every American. Without a firmly established culture, sound academic foundation, or self-imposed

standards, higher education found itself quite vulnerable. Encountering few safeguards, scholastic quacks responded to the demand. All that was needed to enroll students and dispense degrees was the mere claim to be a collegiate institution (Tewksbury, 1932/1965). This threat to academe's integrity, as well as the institutional drain imposed by the influx of unready students, was clearly recognized by many nineteenth century educators.

In his famous critique, University Education, Henry Tappan (1851/1986) expressed both dismay that "in our country we have no universities," as well as fear that we never would--at least, not as long as our senior institutions devoted a disproportionate amount of time to introductory courses at the expense of specialized scholarship, thus inhibiting their growth as centers of research. A better alternative, he proposed, would be to expand the role of the "Academies, and indeed other classical schools" (p. 27), specifically charging them to provide freshmen and sophomores with the foundation of basic knowledge needed to pursue advanced study. For, Tappan maintained,

in passing from the classical school to the college the studies are not essentially changed, nor is the kind of discipline. Hence, a student in our country can prepare at the academy for the second, third, and even the fourth year of collegial study. (p. 27)

Tappan did not long stand alone in his effort to merge secondary education with the first years of college study. Within the decade, William L. Mitchell (1859/1986), chairman of the executive committee of the University of Georgia Board of Trustees became exasperated by the number of ill-prepared students enrolled at his institution. As a

remedy, he proposed that his school "establish an Institute, combining all the instruction in a well regulated village Academy and the Freshman and Sophomore Classes in College . . ." (pp. 30-31).

During his 1869 inaugural speech, William Watts Folwell, the President of the University of Minnesota, spoke out in favor of reorganizing the system as well.

How immense the gain . . . if a youth could remain at the high school or academy . . . until he had reached a point, say somewhere near the end of the sophomore year. . . . Then let the boy, grown up to be a man, emigrate to the university, there to enter upon the work of a man. . . . (p. 37-38)

Others supporting the cause included the first U.S. Commissioner of Education, Henry Barnard, who in 1871, recommended the creation of "Special Schools, embracing a continuation of the studies of the secondary School, and while giving the facilities of general literacy and scientific culture as far as is now reached in the second year of our best colleges. . ." (pp. 37-38) and John William Burgess (1884/1986), the driving force behind Columbia College's transformation into one of the first true American universities, who implored the public to

demand a pretty thorough reformation of our system of secondary education [to include]: the addition of two or three years to the courses of the Academies and High Schools, making in these a continuous curriculum of seven to nine years, during which the pupil shall be taught a thorough knowledge of the English language and a good reading knowledge of at least the Greek, Latin, German and French, the pure mathematics to the Calculus, the elements of the natural sciences, and the elements of universal history and general literature. . . . (pp. 40-41)

Among the first to put these ideas into practice was William Rainey Harper, President of the University of Chicago. In fact, it was Harper who, in 1900, coined the term junior college during an address to

the National Education Association in Charleston, South Carolina. With the ultimate goal of admitting students to his university only at the junior level, Harper urged nearly two hundred weak four-year colleges--including his alma mater, Muskingum--to drop their junior and senior years and concentrate, instead, upon improving freshman and sophomore instruction. Further, he recommended that the nation's strongest academies and high schools extend their curricula into the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, becoming six-year institutions. To implement his proposal, the University of Chicago proposed to sponsor a number of public and private six-year high schools across the country (Aldridge, 1967). To publicize this junior college program--as well as his plan to reorganize the entire American education system--Harper chaired a series of annual conferences in Chicago. Although many aspects of his suggested reorganization met with opposition from conference participants, few found fault with his six-year high school proposal (Gallagher, 1968). Even John Dewey (1903), who had rejected Harper's assumptions regarding primary school instruction, was quick to support the junior college reforms.

The high school at present has no definite task of its own, and no specific aim. It begins at no definite point and it ends at none. It stops, as President Harper has just told us, in the middle of a situation. It carries nothing to completion, but spends its energy in preparation for a work furnished elsewhere. . . . A six-year period would enable the high school to face its own peculiar problem. (p. 19)

With such support, Harper's proposal quickly took hold, and by 1904 a number of six-year secondary schools were providing him with graduates ready to enter the University of Chicago as juniors (Aldridge, 1967). Over the next two decades, the junior college movement spread

throughout the country with most publicly funded, urban schools concentrated in California and the upper Middle West, while the more numerous, privately controlled, rural schools were distributed throughout the South--many within the Missouri River valley between St. Louis and Kansas City (Koos, 1925).

The American Academy. A striking similarity among almost all the early junior college proposals is their repeated call for the expansion and extension of the secondary school and not the creation of another tier in the educational hierarchy. Even more interesting are their sponsors' repeated references to academies. Today, academy is a seldom used word in most educators' vocabularies. In fact, one suspects that, although for some, the term may light a dim recollection of Plato's garden school for Athenian philosophers and statesmen, and for others, it might connote an expensive or selective New England boarding school, far fewer would relate the word to a rich period in the history of American education.

Without doubt, our first settlers believed the scholastic preparation of a learned clergy and a lettered people to be of paramount importance. In fact, as early as 1619, Virginia colonists had established Henrico College, an English style Latin grammar school. Education was, perhaps, even more cherished by the Puritans of New England, as evidenced by the founding of a Latin school at Boston in 1635 and another at Harvard a few years later (Bowen, 1981). In 1647, the Massachusetts Bay Company (1647/1970), legally recognized these grammar schools' important role in preventing that "old deluder, Satan," from keeping "men from the knowledge of the Scriptures," when it decreed that "every town . . . of one hundred families or householders" should "set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university" (p. 162).

Financed by local public funds, these preparatory schools were, unfortunately, located only in large communities like Boston,

Dorchester, Cambridge, New Haven, and Salem (National Education Association, 1885/1964). There, promising young boys trained in the rudiments of Greek and Latin grammar. Once students had mastered the beginning Latin readers--Comenius's Orbis pictus and the Colloquia selecta of Corderius--they progressed through the works of Virgil, Ovid, Caesar, and Cicero (Bowen, 1981). This classical curriculum well prepared students--at least those able to enroll--for attendance at any of the nine colonial colleges, for as Cotton Mather (1702/1977) recorded in his ecclesiastical history of New England, Magnalia Christi Americana,

when scholars had so far profited at the grammar schools that they could read any classical author into English and readily make and speak 'true Latin' and write it in verse, as well as in prose, and perfectly decline the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission to Harvard College. (vol. II, book IV, sec. 4)

In addition to the public grammar schools, a variety of small, private institutions spontaneously generated in cities throughout the colonies. These one-man shows were normally specialized in content and designed to fill specific practical needs, offering courses in bookkeeping, foreign languages, or any other subject that would bring in paying students. As they usually operated on shoestring budgets, most disappeared as quickly as they arrived, and they, along with the grammar schools, were eventually absorbed by a new institution more attuned to the spirit of nineteenth century American democratic optimism, the academy (Sizer, 1964).

Some scholars (Brown, 1903/1969) have attributed the academies' success to a philosophical foundation--especially adapted to a burgeoning American personae--built upon John Milton's Of Education

(1644/1909) and Daniel Defoe's "Essay on Projects" (1697/1970).

Evidence the sentiments expressed by Edward Hitchcock (1845/1964), president of Amherst College, during a speech at Winston Seminary, where he declared

our academical system harmonizes well with the peculiar genius and character of Americans . . . in enterprise, in industry, in arts, and even in arms [The] character of a true American is a strongly marked individuality. (pp. 100-101)

That most individual of Americans, Benjamin Franklin, opened the first American academy in 1751. Expanding upon the Latin grammar school curriculum, Franklin's academy included not only those classical subjects he felt to be "most ornamental," but also those that he believed to be "most useful" (Franklin, 1749/1931). Although initially slow to develop, the academy movement rapidly gathered momentum, especially in the South, following the War of Independence.

This special Southern affinity has been attributed by some to a regional tradition that insisted gentlemen should not only be skilled in riding, hunting, dancing, conversation, and manners, but that they should also have a practical knowledge of law, agriculture, and military science, as well as a passing familiarity with the ancient classics (Good & Teller, 1973; Knight & Hall, 1951/1970; Robinson, 1977). Others (Burke, 1982), however, have suggested this apparent affinity was more likely a reflection of educational deficiencies that stemmed from a neglect of academic opportunity in general and pursuit of "explicitly elitist policies" in specific (p. 37). However, as Table 2 reflects, academies flourished throughout the country.

Table 2

Academy Growth by Region: 1840-1860

Region	Academies & Similar Schools		
	1840	1850	1860
New England	630	985	988
Mid-Atlantic	861	1,626	1,648
Mid-West	560	1,371	1,361
South & Southwest	1,529	2,737	2,876
Total	3,580	6,719	6,873

Note. Adapted from American Collegiate Populations (p. 36) by Colin B. Burke, 1982, New York, NY: New York University Press.

Regardless of region, most academies were private; that is, they were private in the sense that they were controlled by independently appointed boards of trustees. However, these schools were far from private in a modern sense; that is, they often--in fact, usually--received crucial public funding, and they often--in fact, usually--admitted anyone who wished to attend (Sizer, 1964).

Although sectarian enthusiasm played a major role in the founding of many--denominational control of trustee boards was common--most academies found it difficult to promote specific brands of zeal in young and religiously diverse communities. Instead, when trustees opted to

address religion--that is, Protestant Christianity¹--they did so only in the broadest and most fundamental manner. Rather than concentrate on denominationally dogmatic instruction, headmasters instead strove to instill their charges with a pervasive religious spirit (Knight, 1919?). Moral development became the order of the day. Witness this excerpt from an academy advertisement published in a Richmond newspaper:

[Those who] may have unfortunately acquired inveterate habits of slothfulness and dissipation, could scarcely select a school where such habits will encounter more decided, vigilant and probably painful counteraction. (Robinson, 1977, p. 18)

Methods of discipline were strict and severe, as reported by Josiah Quincy (1863) when queried about his experiences at the Phillips Academy during the late 1700s.

Monitors kept an account of all a student's failures, idleness, inattention, whispering, and like deviations from order, and at the end of the week substantial rewards were bestowed for such self-indulgences, distributed upon the head and hand with no lack of strength or fidelity. (p. 740)

Other early academies had secular foundations. Many found their roots in tutorial schools established by prominent families. John Davis (1803?/1863), who opened a "log hut" academy at a plantation in Prince William County, Virginia, reflected at length in his journal.

Each man brought his son, or his daughter, and rejoiced that the day was arriving when their little ones could light their tapers at the torch of knowledge! . . . No price was too great for the services I was to render their children. . . . If I would continue with them seven years! they would erect for me brick seminary on a hill not far off [that] . . . would soon vie with the sublime college of William and Mary, and consign to oblivion the renowned academy in the vicinity of Fauquier Court House. . . .

¹ See Hitchcock (1845/1964) for an anti-Muslim, anti-Oriental, anti-Catholic, and for that matter, anti-everything not Anglo-Saxon Protestant description of the academies' religious orientation.

It is worth while to describe the academy I occupied on Mr. Ball's plantation. It had one room and a half. It stood on blocks about two feet and a half above the ground, where there was free access to the hogs, the dogs, and the poultry. It had no ceiling, nor was the roof lathed or plastered. . . .

It was pleasurable to behold my pupils enter the school over which I presided; for they were not composed only of truant boys, but some of the fairest damsels in the country. . . .

I frequently protracted the studies of the children till one, or half past one o'clock; a practice that did not fail to call forth the exclamations of the . . . people. (pp. 748-749)

Surprising as it may seem, Mr. Davis's admission of both sexes was not uncommon. His apparent distrust of male students was also typical. W.G. McCabe (1890/1977), reminiscing about his student days in an academy, noted that conflicts between schoolmasters and their pupils were common.

[The masters] brought with them all the detestable traditions of their colleges, where they had been trained. They prided themselves on their slyness in espionage, and . . . [attempted] to compel a boy when "caught in a scrape" to "peach" on his comrades.

They delivered themselves of long homilies on the sinfulness of fighting, and tried to persuade healthy and high-spirited lads that the distinctive mark of perfect gentlemanhood, was, when smitten on one cheek, to meekly turn the other. The boys, of course, listened demurely in public . . . and guffawed . . . in private. . . .

The boys despised . . . them. These were the days of "barring out" and wonderful "cold-water traps" for deluging the teacher in his sudden nightly raids into the dormitories, and all other ingenious devices . . . whereby they made wretched the hapless . . . pedagogue, who commonly revenged himself for the contemptuous insubordination of the older boys by unmercifully thrashing the smaller ones. (p. 19)

Although Davis's academy was a day school, by the middle of the nineteenth century a growing number of academies provided room and board for their students. Harvard College had, for some years, been sending prominent young graduates to European universities to complete their

professorial preparation. While in Germany, one of these students, Joseph Cogswell, became fascinated with the von Fellenberg boarding school for young aristocrats and its pronounced emphasis upon developing moral character. Another, George Bancroft, was similarly impressed by the gymnasium system in which German students quickly completed studies comparable to those taught American pupils in grammar schools, day academies, and the first years of college. Upon their return, both taught at Harvard until the student rebellion of 1822-1823 when they resigned to jointly open the Round Hill School near Northampton, Massachusetts. Round Hill was, like von Fellenberg's school, a boarding academy that stressed the development of student character. Its curriculum, like that of the German gymnasium, provided a rigorous preparation for college. Students as young as nine years of age enrolled, and by the end of their studies, many were able to enter the junior or senior classes at Harvard or Yale. Although Round Hill closed in 1834, the school served as the model for many an early boarding academy (Button & Provenzo, 1983).

Although room, board, and tuition were not free, it must be noted that, in testimony to a sincere belief in Christian charity as well as a conviction to civic responsibility, many academies subsidized poor students (Sizer, 1964). Also reflecting the academies' populist nature, courses of study were considerably broader than the old grammar school curriculum. Certainly, the academies trained future collegians in subjects required for college admission: Latin, Greek, arithmetic, and eventually geography, English grammar, ancient history, algebra, and geometry (Brown, 1903/1969), but these courses were only part of a much

wider and more practically oriented curriculum. Support for this variety was nearly universal. Even the prominent statesman and classical orator, Edward Everett (1840)--professor of Greek at Harvard and one of the first two Americans to study at a German university--devoted a large number of his lyceum lectures to such democratic topics as the advantage of useful knowledge, benefits of a general diffusion of knowledge, the importance of scientific knowledge, the importance of the mechanic arts, and the importance of education in a republic. The American people themselves demanded this educational

fashioning of a new republican character, rooted in the American soil, based on an American language and literature, steeped in American art, history, and law, and committed to the promise of an American culture. (Cremin, 1977, pp. 44-45)

To be truly American, studies needed to incorporate useful and vocational subjects. Academy curricula filled the bill by including French and Spanish, American history, physiology, anatomy, natural philosophy, mineralogy, geology, chemistry, and botany (Catalog of Gould's Classical and English Academy, 1856/1964), as well as classes in ethics, business, patriotic declamation, domestic economy, surveying, trigonometry, and navigation (Knight, 1919?). Middle-class parents might likely have sent their "daughter to Mrs. Campbell's School for Young Ladies to study geography, astronomy, embroidery, needlework, and the social graces," while enrolling their son in "the Sumter Military, Gymnastic, and Classical School to obtain a combination of 'academical learning' and the 'manly arts' . . ." (Cremin, 1977, p. 64).

Rapidly, academies overwhelmed the grammar schools and quickly became both the new bridge to college for those who sought additional study and an educational terminus for those who did not. In 1855, at

the height of their influence, Henry Barnard (1856) concluded a thorough survey of American education, finding only 239 colleges but well over 6,000 academies. More than 263,000 students were enrolled in the academies, while only about 28,000 attended college. Clearly, the academy's blend of classics, moral development, citizenship, and pragmatism suited America.

Given the immensity of this movement's popularity, one cannot help but wonder why academies fell from such prominence. Although most survived their first year, only half lived for fifteen, and less than 10% made it to their fiftieth anniversary. Those institutions established before 1800 had an average lifespan of sixty years; those founded between 1800 and 1827 typically lasted about forty-eight, and those that opened between 1827 and 1857 seldom were in operation a quarter century later. Many schools simply could not generate enough income to continue operations (Good & Teller, 1973). Some (Brown, 1903/1969) attributed this decline to an ever increasing national sentiment that favored full public control and full public support of primary and secondary education. Certainly, the influence of the Peabody Fund provided impetus to the proliferation of the public high school.² Others (Sizer, 1964), however, have suggested that even more crucial was the slow, but inevitable, transition of the United States from a rural to urban society. While the boarding academy was ideally suited to serving a thinly spread rural population, the day high school was better able to provide the same service to America's growing cities.

² See Boutwell (1859/1964) for a concise argument favoring the establishment of publicly funded high schools as a remedy for the "evils . . . of endowed academies" (p. 158).

General purpose, rural academies simply became less and less economical. The handwriting was on the wall; specialization was essential. To survive, the academies clearly needed to carve themselves a niche in a new hierarchy.

In 1885, the National Educational Association provided these institutions some guidance in its report, "The Place and Function of the Academy." College complaints about ill-prepared students were growing despite--or perhaps because of--the rapid proliferation of high schools. The report whole-heartedly recommended that academies accept the preparation of "young men and women for the American college" as their "true work" (p. 201). Some schools took the report to heart, cast off their egalitarian cloaks, and became today's elite preparatory schools. Others chose, instead, to leap directly into the college ranks. Unfortunately, many either ignored the suggestion or found they were unequal to the task and soon folded. However, the academy tradition--that blend of liberal literacy so cherished by John Burgess, scientific and useful studies espoused by Benjamin Franklin and Edward Everett, moral development championed by Joseph Cogswell, and citizenship training encouraged by Henry Bernard--continued to live on in the unlikely and often disregarded nook of American military education.

The Military Academy. For some time military education, specifically the precommissioning education of officers, has received slight scholarly attention (Barnett, 1967; Messenger, 1914). Yet, much of what has been written expresses a continued interest in identifying and incorporating a proper combination of military, liberal, and professional studies (Barnett, 1967; Bletz, 1976; Bunting, 1976; Preston, 1980; Stockdale, 1978; Stromberg, Watkin, & Callahan, 1979; Van Creveld, 1990; Yarmolinsky, 1976). While not specifically addressing the military, many involved in higher education (Cheit, 1975; Lynton & Elman, 1987; Whitehead, 1967) have addressed this curricular tension as well, suggesting that a mix of both liberal and professional courses provides the best education.

Since its inception, American officer education has subscribed to this traditional academic melding of liberal arts, useful studies, moral development, and citizenship training. Not only is the United States Military Academy at West Point the oldest and most well known of all American military schools, it was one of the first American academies to be established after the War of Independence. Yet, although founded in 1802 upon Thomas Jefferson's intent to develop an officer corps--men who were at once technicians, scientists, and military commanders, who, in time of peace would build bridges, canals, and roads but, in time of war could lead the nation's army into battle (Kemble, 1973; Millett & Maslowski, 1984)--the school initially bore little resemblance to his ideal. Cadet John Lille wrote of these early days in his journal.

The Military Academy was then in its infancy; all order and regulation, either moral or religious, gave way to idleness, dissipation and irreligion. No control over the officers and cadets was exercised. Drunkenness and Sabbath breaking constituted the order of the day, and well it was for me that I left that place of ruin. (Webb, 1965, p. 16)

It was not until public interest focused upon the academy after the War of 1812 that improvements were made. Congress enlarged the cadet corps to 250 students and created permanent professorships in mathematics, natural philosophy, and engineering (Boynton, 1873). More importantly, William H. Crawford, the Secretary of War, dispatched two officers to France to observe military schools and collect textbooks for use at West Point. Major Sylvanus Thayer and his companion scoured the country, returning home in 1817 with thousands of books, maps, and charts--most from the famous military engineering school L'Ecole Polytechnique (Simons, 1965).

Upon his return, Thayer became the Military Academy's superintendent. After wresting command away from his entrenched predecessor, Alden Partridge,³ Thayer began to carry out the ideas he had developed in France. Immediately, he dismissed incompetent students, grouping the remaining cadets into three classes which were subdivided by ability into smaller sections. Thayer then required instructors to quiz their students and provide weekly progress reports. Further, he appointed a commandant of cadets and an academic board (Boynton, 1873). His curriculum, although emphasizing engineering

³ The dispute between Thayer and Partridge, fueled in part by a bitter faculty-administration conflict over curricular control, has become part of Academy legend. Partridge was eventually court-martialed for his refusal to relinquish command and released from active duty (Barnard, 1863b; Webb, 1965).

technology, included lessons in French, ethics, natural philosophy, chemistry, geology, geography, and astronomy (Tillman, 1904/1969). It was no accident that military studies received minimal priority. Thayer, echoing Jefferson, ascribed to developing officer-scientists, men of character and intellect. Typical of many a headmaster, he insisted that his students would learn to place civic duty and responsibility before personal concerns.

While a variety of comprehensive West Point histories, evaluations, and studies exist (e.g. Ambrose, 1966; Atkinson, 1989; Berry, 1977; Beukema, 1943; Ellis & Moore, 1974; Flemming, 1969; Godson, 1934; Morrison, 1986; Simons, 1965), one of the most intriguing is John P. Lovell's Neither Athens nor Sparta: The Service Academies in Transition (1979). His analysis of West Point is especially interesting--and in accord with Burton Clark's (1971) suggestion of the importance of organizational saga--noting that until the mid-1970s, the school was more interested in preserving its past and its traditions than in preparing officers for whatever crises they would encounter upon graduation. Lovell reported that the school was not the least affected by innovations that had revolutionized higher education since the turn of the century. West Point was, he asserted, a "seminary-academy"--operating much the same as during Thayer's reign--adamantly opposed to assimilating what it perceived as the faddish practices of modern education. Even today, West Point pays homage to the Thayer method of education, reverently proclaiming him the "Father of the Military Academy" (U.S. Military Academy, 1990).

The second American military academy to open was, appropriately enough, founded by Thayer's West Point predecessor, Captain Alden Partridge. After leaving the Army, Partridge returned home to his native Vermont, embittered by his dismissal and convinced that the training of officers was much too important to be left to the military establishment (Partridge, 1841/1863). There, he started the private American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy at Norwich in 1820 (Barnard, 1863a) clearly founded upon his commitment to developing "citizen soldiers" and a firm belief in the importance of character development and practical education. Specifically, Partridge maintained that to be most effective

the organization and discipline [of education] should be strictly military. . . . Whenever a youth can be impressed with the true principles and feelings of a soldier, he becomes, as a matter of course, subordinate, honorable, and manly. He disdains subterfuge and prevarication, and all that low cunning. . . . [He] will be equally observant of the laws of his country . . . and will become the more estimable citizen. . . .

Military science and instruction should constitute part of the course of education. . . . [Military knowledge] must be disseminated amongst the great mass of people, . . . [for] when deposited with them, it is in safe hands, and will never be exhibited . . . except in opposition to the enemies of the country. . . . (Partridge, 1825/1970, pp. 243-244)

Recognizing that military discipline and training alone were not sufficiently encompassing, Partridge supported the incorporation of a "complete course of education."⁴

1st. The course of classical and scientific instruction should be extensive and perfect. . . .

⁴ It is interesting to note the considerable similarities between Alden Partridge's suggested curriculum and the Land Grant College Act of 1862. Perhaps Partridge's educational philosophy influenced his friend and neighbor, Justin S. Morrill (Lyons & Masland, 1959).

2nd. A due portion of time should be devoted to practical geometrical and other scientific operations in the field. The pupils should frequently be taken on pedestrian excursions into the country, be habituated to endure fatigue, to climb mountains, and to determine their altitudes by means of the barometer as well as by trigonometry. Those excursions . . . [will] render them vigorous and healthy. . . .

3rd. Another portion of their time should be devoted to practical agricultural pursuits, gardening, &c. . . .

4th. A further portion of time should be devoted to familiar explanatory lectures on . . . the principles and practices of agriculture, commerce and manufacture, on political economy, on the Constitution of the United States, and . . . on the science of government. . . .

5th. To the institution should be attached a range of mechanics' shops where those who possess an aptitude and inclination might . . . [acquire] a knowledge of some useful mechanic art. (pp. 245-246)

Correspondingly, his curriculum at Norwich included classes in Greek, Latin, ethics, logic, chemistry, and history; algebra, geometry, and trigonometry; political law, natural law, the law of nations, and the Constitution; as well as electricity, optics, and construction (Catalog of the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy, 1821/1863). Partridge divided his students' days into eight hours of study and recitation, eight hours of sleep, and three hours for meals and personal duties. Two hours were devoted to military and physical exercise, while three hours were spent attending practical lectures or in scientific, agricultural, or mechanical hands-on work.⁵

⁵ Just as Justin Morrill's land grant proposal reflected elements of Partridge's philosophy, Partridge's ideas were in turn quite similar to those expressed in Daniel Defoe's "Essay on Projects" (1697/1970). Defoe proposed the King of England establish an academy to teach all who were interested "the necessary arts and exercises to qualify them for the service of their country. . . ." He recommended that its structure be "all military" and that students "be disciplined under proper officers." Suggested studies included geometry, astronomy, history, navigation, arithmetic, trigonometry, architecture, surveying,

Eventually, Partridge opened another school, the Virginia Literary, Scientific, and Military Institute at Portsmouth in 1839 (Knight 1919?), as well as what he hoped would become a national school of education at Brandywine Springs, near Wilmington, Delaware, in 1853 (Barnard, 1863a). With good reason, Lyons and Masland (1959) have suggested that Partridge's program was the grandfather of subsequent military education efforts, for by 1830, five similar institutions--directed by former Norwich cadets--were operating in Buffalo, New York; Oxford and Fayetteville, North Carolina; Rice Creek, South Carolina; and Jefferson College, Mississippi (Harmon, 1951). Graduates of these schools, in turn, founded their own, and dozens military academies were established throughout the country.

Many of the early military schools opened with limited budgets and in remote rural areas. With regard to finances, William T. Sherman (1875/1990), the first superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy--now Louisiana State University--recalled that in 1859 the

legislature had appropriated for the sixteen beneficiaries at the rate of two hundred and eighty-three dollars per annum, to which we added sixty dollars as tuition for pay cadets; and, though the price was low, we undertook to manage for the rest of the year

Promptly to the day, we opened, with about sixty cadets present. . . . I had been to New Orleans, where I had bought a supply of mattresses, books, and every thing requisite . . . , but without uniforms or muskets; yet with roll-calls, sections, and recitations, we kept as near the standard of West Point as possible. (p. 165)

fortification, and entrenching, as well as "all the customs, usages, [and] terms of war." Also, all students would participate in "exercises for the body," especially, swimming, riding, fencing, running, leaping, and wrestling. (pp. 136-144)

And, two years later--shortly before P.T. Beauregard fired upon Fort Sumter, Sherman complained of his school's isolation to his brother, a member of the House of Representatives; "I am so much in the woods here that I can't keep up with the times at all. Indeed you in Washington hear from New Orleans two to three days sooner than I do" (Thorndike, 1894, p. 104).

While institution-sponsored or alumni-authored histories (e.g. Byrd, 1984; Couper, 1939?; Ellis, 1898; Grimsley, 1983; Harrel & Caperton, 1933; Wise, J.C., 1915) of the most successful schools--the South Carolina Military Academy or Citadel, Partridge's Norwich University, and the Virginia Military Institute--are not uncommon,⁶ today's baccalaureate academies represent only a small percentage of military school genre. Most schools have, instead, concentrated their efforts in primary and secondary education. Two important examinations of these academies are Military Education in the U.S. by I.L. Reeves (1914) and Colonel L.R. Gignilliat's Arms and the Boy: Military Training in Schools and Colleges (1916). Gignilliat and Reeves published their books while the federal government was first considering the establishment of the Reserve Officer Training Corps. In them, they discussed the conduct of military training at these schools, identifying the arguments for and against military education, its origins, legal

⁶ Pat Conroy's thinly disguised dramatic account of the Citadel, The Lords of Discipline (1980), and the comedic portrayal of life at the Virginia Military Institute, Brother Rat (Monk & Finklehoffe, 1937), provide refreshing descriptions of these schools from non-institutional perspectives, much as Louis Auchincloss's The Rector of Justin (1956/1980), John Knowles's A Separate Piece (1960), and Lisa Birnbach's The Official Preppy Handbook (1980) have done for preparatory boarding academies.

basis, student life, faculty characteristics, and curricula. Since Reeves and Gignilliat, little has been published about military academies although, year after year, these institutions continue to enroll students. Not surprisingly, many of the military schools that remain today--e.g. Chamberlin-Hunt, Fishburne, Fork Union, Hargrave, Lyman-Ward, Massanutten, Missouri, Millersburg, Riverside--operate as preparatory boarding academies throughout the South, where the military tradition remains strong and respected (Del Vecchio, 1990). Yet, only a handful of these once thriving military institutions have evolved into what must certainly be among the last and most obscure adherents to the original junior college model--an expansion of the traditional nineteenth century academy to include the first two years of collegiate study.

The Articulated Military Academy and Junior College. In the first edition of the American Council of Education's junior college directory, Eells (1940) identified ten extant military junior colleges.

Table 3.

Comparison of Military Junior Colleges: 1940

School	Yr Opened	Yr became Mil Academy	Yr became Jr College	Pub/Priv	Enrollment Male/Female	Bldgs/Dorms	Annual Budget (\$)	Curriculum Prep/Term
Marion	1842	1848	1919	Private	201/64	12/4	120,000	Yes/Yes
Kemper	1844	1885	1923	Private	209/--	13/5	207,000	Yes/No
Gordon	1852	1890	1927	Public	117/18	9/3	40,000	Yes/No
Oak Ridge	1852	1917	1933	Private	109/--	7/4	95,000	Yes/Yes
Georgia	1879	1879	1930	Public	139/--	4/2	31,000	Yes/No
Wentworth	1880	1880	1923	Private	117/--	9/3	150,000	Yes/No
New Mexico	1898	1898	1914	Public	288/--	16/8	227,000	Yes/Yes
Oklahoma	1910	1921	1921	Private	198/--	2/2	na	na
Texas	1915	1915	1930	Public	47/25	14/8	33,000	Yes/No
V. Forge	1928	1928	1935	Private	86/--	14/4	na	Yes/Yes

Two of these schools, the Marion Institute in Alabama and Kemper Military School and College in Missouri, traced their lineage to boarding academies founded in the 1840s. Two other schools were established in the 1850s, three more between 1870 and 1900; and the remainder after the turn of the century. Typical of many early junior colleges, six were privately operated. Full-time enrollments ranged from the Texas Military College's 72 students to Kemper's 289 cadets. Although three of the schools admitted women as special students--most often only during summer sessions--all were male oriented institutions.

Although, each institution was classified as a two-year college, all--as suggested by Tappan, Mitchell, Folwell, Barnard, Burgess, Harper, and Dewey--were articulated extensions of boarding academies, sharing classrooms, dormitories, and budgets with secondary schools bearing the same, or very similar names. The Kemper Military School and College was singled out as having an especially integrated curriculum combining secondary studies with the first two years of college work. College preparatory liberal arts courses were stressed at all of the schools, although four also offered terminal programs, primarily in teaching and business education, that attracted about 20% of their student bodies.

Several of the schools identified the lack of a sufficient endowment, or inadequate dormitories, as their greatest concern. However, Kemper and New Mexico Military Institute noted their greatest challenge was in articulating secondary school and college classwork.

A more recent edition of the American Council of Education's directory of American Community, Technical, and Junior Colleges (Parnell & Peltason, 1984), reflects few changes. Although the active ranks have been reduced to only six schools--some have closed, and some have simply curtailed junior college instruction--directory descriptions depict those that remain as rather static institutions. Only a few significant changes apparently have occurred. Most schools show moderate increases in student population and women have been admitted as full-fledged cadets in two-thirds of the academies.

Other than these short directory entries, little else has been written about the schools. Although, Eugene T. Jackman (1967) examined

the growth of one of the two public schools, the relatively young and relatively large New Mexico Military Institute, Keith W. Kayler's doctoral dissertation, "The Military Junior Colleges," (1989) was the first investigation to examine the private sector schools as well. Kayler briefly visited, during May 1988, each of the six remaining schools: 1) Georgia Military College, High School, and Middle Grades, Milledgeville, Georgia, 2) Kemper Military School and College, Boonville, Missouri, 3) Marion Military Institute, Marion, Alabama, 4) New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell, New Mexico, 5) Valley Forge Military Academy and Junior College, Wayne, Pennsylvania, and 6) Wentworth Military Academy and Junior College, Lexington, Missouri.

He frankly acknowledged a pro-military junior college bias, declaring in his introduction that he believed these institutions were "as vibrant now, perhaps even more so, than they have ever been in the past" (p. 3). Curiously, this description seems at odds with his declared purpose to develop a comprehensive analysis of these institutions in an attempt "to assist in the preservation of an endangered species. . ." (p. 7).

Kayler confined his study solely to the "contemporary configurations" of the junior college divisions of these schools, based upon an assumption that "their present status is so vastly different from that of their past that it would be impossible to draw major valid conclusions from an extensive investigation of their lengthy and varied histories" (p. 6). Through a review of their current institutional literature and interviews with students, faculty, cadre, and administrators, he developed a "comprehensive description" of today's

typical military junior college specifically with regard to its philosophy and educational objectives, governance, administration, finance, students, curriculum, and faculty, concluding his analysis by defining the military junior college as

a fully accredited, two year, associate degree granting, transfer institution of higher education which uses the military aspects of discipline, regimentation, and esprit de corps to achieve academic success. They exist in both public and private versions and have the ability to offer their students unique opportunity to receive, in only two years, a commission as an officer in the US Army, Army Reserve, or National Guard. (pp. 164-165)

As a group, Kayler found that these schools stress the development of the "whole student," giving equal weight to intellectual, physical, social, moral, and individual growth. The typical military junior college is a private, not-for-profit institution with an independent governing board. Governmental relationships are limited to financial aid and ROTC contracts. Tuition is the primary source of its revenue, accounting for 80-90% of all income. Its largest area of expenditure is classroom instruction, which, when coupled with student service expenses, accounts for 50% of the budget. The school is organized into six divisions: academic, admissions, business, athletics, institutional development and public relations, and student affairs. Division heads report directly to the school president, traditionally referred to as the superintendent, or his deputy.

Most students are between 19 and 20 years of age and attend the academy full-time. The majority are from out-of-state and intend to eventually transfer to a four year school. Many are drawn to the school by its academic reputation, small classes, military orientation, and the possibility of earning an officer's commission. Generally, all students

participate in intramural or intercollegiate sports, as well as a variety of extracurricular activities. Sunday church service is mandatory, and cadets are subject to a self-imposed honor system.

The curriculum parallels the first two years of a traditional four year college, incorporating both general education and disciplinary concentration, usually in some manner of pre-professional study. ROTC participation and adherence to military discipline are, however, mandatory.

Courses are delivered by a mix of civilian and military faculty. 60% of all school personnel have earned master's degrees and about 17% have completed a doctorate. Those with doctoral degrees are found in both faculty and administrative positions. All instructors wear uniforms, whether in the military or not. Civilians are granted institutional "military" rank commensurate with their positions and are expected to act and be treated the same as commissioned officers.

Research Questions

Clearly, the articulated military school and junior college does not conveniently fit into any of our generally accepted categories of higher education. Therefore, I set out to examine the academic evolution of a sample school and determine

1) if and--if so--how the school's current mission, configuration, operation, and culture give evidence of its nineteenth century academy roots, its early junior college heritage, or any other period of its past;

2) if it, in fact, falls within the parameters of Kayler's comprehensive description (1989) of the military junior college; and

3) if it remains--as divergently suggested by Kayler--either a vibrant, viable, and valuable institution or a remnant of a species on the verge of extinction.

I chose Kemper Military School and Junior College as a representative institution for several reasons:

1) Founded in 1844 during the height of the academy movement, the school has been in almost continuous operation for the past one hundred fifty years.

2) It operated as a general boarding academy for forty years before switching to its military structure in 1885, the same year the National Education Association noted that to survive, academies would likely need to alter their traditional roles.

3) It is one of the four private military academies. Only New Mexico Military Institute and Georgia Military College, High School, and Middle Grades are state-supported. Kemper, Marion Military Institute,

Valley Forge Military Academy, and Wentworth Military Academy and Junior College are not.

4) It is located at Boonville, Missouri, midway between St. Louis and Kansas City within the Missouri River valley, a scholastically fertile region recognized for a bumper crop of early junior colleges, and

5) it readily adapted to the original junior college model and was recognized by the American Council of Education and the American Association of Junior Colleges for its attempts to integrate secondary and junior college studies.

Although Kemper Military School and Junior College might share some distant ancestors with today's public community college, its line of descent has traveled quite a different path than schools like Miami-Dade or Northern Virginia Community College. Nowhere within the standard historical examinations of the junior and community college movement--e.g. Diener's (1986) The Growth of an American Invention or Frye's (1992) more recent evaluation, The Vision of the Public Junior College, 1900-1940--are schools like Kemper addressed. Similarly, such schools have evolved quite differently from the accepted patterns of our four year liberal arts colleges, comprehensive universities, or research institutions. As a result, they are equally ignored in such classics as Rudolf's The American College and University (1962/1990), Veysey's The Emergence of the American University (1965/1970), and even Cremin's comprehensive trilogy, American Education (1970, 1980, 1988).

It would appear, then, that the articulated military school and college has fallen through a crack in our collective memory. Yet,

schools like Kemper often have a worthwhile story to tell. As Merle Borrowman (1961) pointed out in his study of academic experiments and contributions of the antebellum college, often the educational philosophy and attendant efforts of such forgotten or neglected institutions are every bit as enlightening and worthy of study as those of the current mainstream. Unfortunately, seldom are these examined, for, as argued by John Thelin (1982, p. 82), there is a continuing "indulgence of administrators and scholars in selectively invoking historical names and antecedents which conveniently make a case for some present and pragmatic institutional demand or interest." In other words, conventional wisdom and popular belief are often skewed by what Daniel Boorstin (1987, p. 11) has referred to as "Survival of the Victorious Point of View: The Success Bias;" or, in Thelin's words (1992) once more, "history written by the winners."

In the case of the two year college, this evidences itself in the preponderance of research concentrating upon the comprehensive public community commuter college. Yet, today's military junior college is rooted just as deep in America's educational heritage as its public cousin. It remains a legacy of the over-arching tradition of the American academy, and, as such, is a continuing reminder of a time when the division between secondary education and higher education--much less between today's components of higher education--had yet to be formed. While traditional American academies have all but vanished and multifaceted public community colleges have diverted significantly from their original academic focus, the combined military school and junior college might, in fact, have maintained a fidelity to the original missions of

both, exhibiting strong ties to their nineteenth century academy foundations, a demonstrated commitment to the original junior college philosophy, and a visible entwining of the secondary school and junior college.

Method and Procedures

Three overlapping qualitative methods were used to conduct this study. Historical documents and current records were examined to reconstruct the school's academic evolution. Luckily, quite a bit of this material had been saved for, as Boorstin (1987) has lamented, this is not often the case.

Much of the peculiarly American experience, which has had [a] voluntary, spontaneous character, has eluded historians. The founding of colleges and universities in England and Europe are recorded in the government chartering of corporations, in the orders of central ministries of education or ancient religious foundations. But in the United States the efforts of local boosters to form colleges to attract settlers, the volunteer enthusiasms of ministers and their congregations, and the haphazard philanthropy of wealthy citizens leave few official records. (p. 7-8)

Board meeting minutes, catalogs, yearbooks, textbooks, gradebooks, matriculation logs, club rosters, courts-martial records, accreditation studies, student files, and several superintendents' journals, memoirs, and papers were all available--if in some disarray--at the school. Especially valuable in deciphering the school's financial turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s was Robert Dyer's (1984?) Kemper-commissioned school chronology.

The local historic society provided bulging files of pertinent clippings, personal correspondence, photographs, school programs, dance cards, and other memorabilia. A copy of a commencement address Frederick Kemper delivered at the University of Missouri in the mid-1850s was on file at the State Historical Society in Columbia. The local newspaper provided bound copies of more than forty years of the Boonville Daily News, while back issues of the Missouri Register and the Boonville Observer, and Weekly Advertiser were available at the State

Historical Society, as were complete sets of the Kemper school newspaper and alumni newsletter. A variety of secondary sources, focusing on regional history and local genealogy, was on file at the county library, while, three especially pertinent monographs dealing with the school--The Life of Professor F.T. Kemper, A.M.: The Christian Educator, Hoe Out Your Row, and Other Inspiring Talks to Boys, and Will Rogers, Cadet--were in the collections of both the Kemper and University of Missouri library.

In addition to my documentary review, I made two separate visits to the school during March and October 1992 and spent much time observing the institution, both day and night, in a variety of settings to include: classrooms, dormitories, the clubroom, the dean's office, the library, the dining facility, and the admissions office. Additionally, I observed faculty meetings, parades, ceremonies, and weekly vespers. My observations were focused using the guide found at Appendix A.

I conducted interviews during each visit, questioning students, parents, alumni, faculty, the academic dean, the administrative staff, and local residents about Kemper's educational philosophy, objectives, culture, governance, administration, curriculum, daily routine, and student life. My interviews loosely followed the agenda found at Annex B.

I then melded the resulting interview transcripts, field notes, and documentary evidence to provide the following analysis of this institution and answers to my research questions.

A Historical Perspective

The Roots of the School

By 1836, when twenty-year old Frederick T. Kemper arrived in Palmyra, Missouri, a small county seat not far from the Mississippi River about twenty miles north of Hannibal, just fifteen short years had passed since Henry Clay's famous congressional compromise assured the former territory's statehood. Although a slave state, strongholds of abolitionist sentiment, like that found at Palmyra's Marion College (Burke, 1982), pocketed the region. Marion, a Presbyterian school, was barely five years old when Kemper arrived tired and worn from his twelve hundred mile stagecoach and riverboat journey from Madison, Virginia, drawn by the fame of the college's founder, the Reverend David Nelson--author of the "Cause and Cure of Infidelity"--and its president, Dr. William S. Potts (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875).

Marion College was an ambitious school with high expectations for its pupils. Students were expected to master what was described as a "simple and practicable" course of study. Freshman concentrated on the Aeneid, Livy, Latin composition, Greek grammar, ancient geography, algebra, and the Bible. Sophomores added Horace, the Iliad, geometry, and Cicero to their studies. And, before graduation, student proficiency in Hebrew, German, French, moral philosophy, astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry, and geology was required as well. Yet, scholastic performance was not the school's only demand. Marion depended upon a 5,000 acre endowment and "the physical strength of its

students" to remain solvent. Each student was furnished "with twenty acres of land, which was to be cultivated . . . [with] corn, oats, wheat, and timothy grass." Students were allowed to keep half of their product, the rest going to the college along with twenty dollars for tuition and fifty additional dollars for room and board (Marion College Catalog of 1835-6, 1835/1884).

Kemper, however, was up to the task, despite the fact that his formal education consisted of little more than several years of part-time home tutoring and two additional years at a local Latin school (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875). By the time he enrolled at Marion, Kemper was used to hard work, having spent five years clerking for Madison and Baltimore merchants. He was used to hard study as well, reading at least fifty pages each day in texts like "Watts on the Mind" and "Abercrombie on the Intellectual Powers" while committing blocks of Greek grammar to memory along with extended passages from the Old and New Testament (Kemper, 1836/1884a, p. 49).

A relatively recent Presbyterian convert, Kemper began his studies at Marion intent upon entering the ministry, noting in his journal that "I have lived without an abiding sense of Christian responsibility. I have been looking to others to take the lead in religion when I should have been an example to them" (1838/1884a, p. 86). He began instructing at the college's Sunday school soon after he enrolled, eventually assuming the role of superintendent in 1838. Apparently this taste of teaching altered Kemper's plans, for it was during this time he decided his calling was not the ministry, but education (Quarles, 1884).

After graduation, Kemper remained at Marion as a tutor for two years until the college's cumbersome financial scheme began to founder, and he accepted a teaching position at a small boarding school in nearby Philadelphia, Missouri. There, as a former student observed, Kemper's efforts to eliminate "wilful ignorance, indolence, and insolence" created at least "two cases of somewhat serious trouble" (Quarles, 1884, p. 114). When parents objected to his strict discipline, Kemper was unrepentant.

In regard to my treatment of your children, I have no explanation to make. The time for such explanation is past. Though I hold myself responsible for all my acts, and rejoice to meet that responsibility, still I must have a fair hearing or none at all. It has long been a maxim with me to do my duty, and let my reputation take care of itself. . . . If I do a man real, or even supposed, injury, I am always glad to make explanations and acknowledgments. . . . But the treatment I have received is not, in my humble judgement, the best way to promote peace in communities, the prosperity of schools, or that sweetness of disposition in children, which is a far more important part of education than the learning of a little algebra or grammar. (Kemper, 1843/1884b, p. 115).

So, within a year, Kemper was back in Palmyra, intent upon opening a boarding school of his own. However, local Palmyrans--gun-shy from the impending failure of Marion College and perhaps familiar with Kemper's problems in Philadelphia--saw no reason to support him with either financial backing or students. With bleak prospects for success, it is easy to imagine Kemper's excitement when approached by a New Light preacher from Boonville, who suggested that his booming river town was sorely in need of a boys' academy (Quarles, 1884).

When Kemper headed south from Marion County in 1844, Boonville was, in fact, one of the largest communities in the state with a

population of nearly 1,700.⁷ Upon arrival, he found an attractive and bustling town with good roads, lively river traffic, and a real need for a boys' school⁸ (Dyer, 1987). Wasting little time, Kemper placed a small advertisement in one of Boonville's two local papers (Missouri Register, 1844a, p.3)

Illustration 3

CLASSICAL SCHOOL.
 THERE will be a High Classical School opened in Boonville about the first of May next by Mr. F. T. Kemper, formerly of Va. The most satisfactory references and particulars will be given on his arrival here. March 21st. 1844.

The First Advertisement

Apparently, it took Kemper longer than he had anticipated to open his academy for two months passed before a second notice appeared.

⁷ When in 1799, Daniel Boone lost his Kentucky homestead during the state's infamous re-registration of land titles, he and his family headed west, eventually settling near the French town of Les Petites Cotes--now St. Charles, Missouri--in what was then Spanish Louisiana. After discovering mineral flats along the Missouri River several miles from what is now Boonville, his sons began producing salt in 1806. Other settlers followed, and by 1810 four small fortress communities had been established. The forts were necessary protection until after the War of 1812, when Indian allies of the British withdrew from the region and the twin towns of Boonville and Franklin began to grow as the principal supply terminals at the start of the Santa Fe Trail (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875; Lavender, 1965; Quarles, 1884)

⁸ There were three established schools in Boonville when Kemper arrived, two of which enrolled only girls. The boy's school, C.W. Todd's Boonville Male Academy, had been recently hurt by a scandal that resulted in the dismissal of R.W. Jaffray, who, in turn, was unsuccessfully attempting to open a rival academy near the Boonville courthouse.

MR. KEMPER'S SCHOOL will be opened on the first Monday in June. Parents are requested to examine the circulars to be had on application for the terms and other particulars. It is proper to state that while the course of study in the classics . . . is thorough, special pains will be taken with little boys. (Missouri Register, 1844b, p.3)

When the Kemper Family School opened five days later, it did so in a rented room of a one story building located near the center of town. Of its first five students, only one was from Boonville. Two of the pupils were Kemper's cousins--sons of his Aunt Mary who had agreed to serve as the school matron--and two were former students he had taught while in Philadelphia. Kemper, his aunt, and the student boarders lived in a small frame house and office not far from the school. As enrollment increased--eleven students attended classes by the end of June and eighteen by the end of July--space became cramped (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875; Quarles, 1884). To accommodate this increase, Kemper moved his boarders into a brick building just outside the city limits, relocated his classroom, renamed his school, and advertised once more.

TO EVERY BODY. . . . we invite the public attention to the condition and prospects of THE NEW BOONVILLE ACADEMY.

This institution is progressing under most favorable auspices. We have now succeeded Mr. Jaffray. His room in rear of the Courthouse is retired. . . . Many citizens tell us that Boonville badly needs such an institution as we are establishing. Hear, then, what we are doing to meet these wants.

Having no confidence in the usefulness of transient schools, we chose teaching as a profession after years of preparatory study. . . . We now have under our profession a couple of youth, whoin we have been training for assistants. With this assistance we afford special advantages to smaller scholars, who, instead of being neglected for larger ones, as is often the case, will be delightfully occupied during the period of day study. . . .

The boarding department is of the best character. In the family of a near relative in which we reside pupils will receive every proper attention in respect to their comfort and their morals. . . .

We say to parents and friends, TRY US. You are invited to visit the school. . . . A teacher's best letters of commendation are the improving minds and characters of his pupils. And if we cannot, like Cornelia with her Gracchi, present our pupils as our ornaments and jewels, we shall honor the public sentiment that condemns us. FREDERICK T. KEMPER. (Boonville Observer, 1844a, p. 3)

Parents who did visit Kemper's academy found that its course of study "embraced the entire Cambridge course of mathematics, and the course of classics then current in Western colleges" (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875, p. 20).

Additionally, they might have been surprised to find much of the teaching being done by the older students. Finding it impossible to cover all subjects between the alphabet and calculus by himself, Kemper employed a modified version of the Lancastrian system and "freely used his older and better trained pupils as assistants, giving them those classes which needed the least drilling and control" (Quarles, 1884, p. 142).

To encourage community support, Kemper opened his end-of-session examinations to the public. Parents and community leaders were encouraged to visit classes to see for themselves that his "peculiar methods of instruction" were worthy of a "liberal patronage" (Boonville Observer, 1844b, 1844c). Visitors were entertained with a variety of performances including poetry presentations, Latin recitations, and classic Shakespearean soliloquies (Exhibition of Collegiate Institute, 1845). Evidently, Kemper's campaign paid dividends for when the second session of his school--now renamed the Boonville Boarding School and

Teacher's Seminary⁹--opened in November, parents of sixty-five students had paid tuitions of between \$8 and \$15 for the five month term (Missouri Register, 1844c; Quarles, 1884). When fifty-six students enrolled again the following Spring, Kemper felt secure enough to commission the building of a school house.¹⁰

The first building . . . was erected during the summer of 1845. The ground was purchased of Solomon Houck, May 20 of that year. It had a frontage on Third Street of one hundred and twenty feet. The building then erected . . . was put up by a joint stock company, with the understanding that Mr. Kemper was to purchase their stock in the course of time. . . .

This first building . . . was a two-story brick, having two rooms and a hall or entry below, and three rooms above. The first floor was for the family. The room in the south-west corner above was Mr. Kemper's bedroom. By the side of this, in the south-east corner, was a small recitation-room. On the north was the main school-room, approached by an outdoor stairway on the west side of the building. Every survivor can doubtless recall our pleasurable emotions on the day when we were transferred from the corner of the court-house square to these new, more comfortable, and, as we thought, elegant quarters. (Quarles, 1884, pp. 137-138)

⁹ Kemper's interest in the training of teachers reflected not only his personal commitment to education as a profession, but the practical necessity of producing student-tutors to help within his own school. One of the teaching skills he insisted each tutor master was how to make student pens, for "it was one of the necessities of the teacher's profession that he should know how to cut a quill. He might be ignorant of arithmetic and grammar, but he must know how to make a pen" (Quarles, 1884, p. 144).

¹⁰ The original structure still stands as part of the school's current administration building.

The Early Years

Kemper's pride in his thriving young school and its brand new building was readily apparent in a front page advertisement he placed in the Missouri Register at the beginning of his fourth session (1845, p. 1).

CIRCULAR OF THE MALE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, BOONVILLE, MO. The success which has attended this establishment from its foundation, is such as must uniformly crown intelligent and honest labors in the great cause of Education. . . . This concern is permanent. The business is prostituted when used as a stepping stone to another profession. Our wish is to begin and finish the schooling of our pupils; thus only can certain results be secured. A large edifice has been erected for this school, and the pupils have access to the excellent Philosophical Apparatus of the Female Collegiate Institute under Mr. Tracy.

Just as apparent was his underlying motivation.

The Senior Principal after graduating himself, convinced that his own education had suffered greatly from unqualified teachers, . . . determined to devote his life to the business of teaching, and improving, the common and high schools of the great West. We are laboring to make the profession as lucrative and honorable as it is important . . . in improving those institutions that "bestow" and sustain a nation's "liberty."

Although the school's curriculum continued to be based upon Latin, Greek, and mathematics, Kemper added advanced courses--like astronomy and chemistry--to provide "the advantages of collegiate education . . . without the temptations of College life." Parents were assured that their sons would

constitute a part of the same family with the senior principal. They eat at the same table and sleep under the same roof with him. Instead of dissipating at night, they study with him in his night school, and their daily recreations are so arranged as to cultivate sprightliness and yet not leave time which they do not know how to employ.

Kemper also made it clear that his students would gain more than mere "classical preparation."

In prosecuting our course of instruction it is a special object to afford sound mental training . . . to those designed for mechanical, and such other pursuits. . . . Start boys to school sufficiently early, and keep them regularly at school; and by the time they are able to wield the sledge hammer, they may have such a foundation of mental culture as to make them honored as citizens, and superior to the demagogue who would make a fool of them.

What Kemper claimed to offer was simply "good and cheap," "continuous, systematic training." Tuition--based upon the "advancement of the pupil"--remained relatively inexpensive, ranging between eight and fifteen dollars with fifty additional cents charged for classroom heating during the winter months. Boarders were charged one dollar and fifty cents per week for food and lodging, as well as three dollars a session for heat and light.¹¹ And, while each boarder was expected to bring their own clothes and towels, laundry service was provided for an extra fee.

Certainly, Kemper's school was "systematic." Each student followed a precise schedule of daily lessons, and "every student was required to get every lesson every day" (Johnston, 1932). Each waking hour of the day was divided into quarters,¹² and changing periods of

¹¹ "Lodging rooms were of different sizes. Some accommodated as many as four students. They were allegedly heated with stoves but actually were heated one day during the week. Lighting was by kerosene lamps" (Johnston, 1932).

¹² Boarders woke each morning at six and rushed to the study hall for fifteen minutes of calisthenics followed by forty-five minutes of study until breakfast at seven. More exercises and group games were played until classes began with a prayer, bible study, and discussion of current events at nine. Lunch was served at noon. Classes resumed at one and lasted until four. Between four and suppertime, students again exercised and played outside. After supper, students studied their lessons under the supervision of Mr. Kemper until bedtime at nine (Kinsbury, undated).

study and recitation were marked by the ringing of a bell.¹³ Kemper permitted his pupils to study no more than three different subjects at a time, fearing that if a boy were forced to "cram" more "into his cranium," burdening his memory with "more truths than the reasoning powers can properly elaborate and digest," his mind would be seriously injured. Such students might, Kemper believed,

become mental dyspeptics. They are either lean and emaciated dyspeptics because either the memory is unable to retain the excessive pabulum committed to it, or else they become bloated dyspeptics, without nerve or muscle, with the fats and sugars all absorbed, and the albuminoids all rejected. (Quarles, 1884, p. 341)

This was preventable, Kemper maintained, by substituting detail for breadth in his pupils' lessons. Repetition and memory, he noted, formed the basis of mental power and were necessary "for all successful tuition, especially of immature minds" (Quarles, 1884, p. 328). Lyman's Chart of History was one of Kemper's favored texts, aptly suited for such repetitive and detailed study. In one three day period he led his students in over six hours of memorization of its "tenth division" (Kemper, 1852/1884a, p. 195).

Methodicality of habits was stressed to develop both character and discipline. Kemper compulsively maintained a personal method or system for all his actions and insisted his charges do so as well. There were specified ways of walking, standing, reciting, and holding books. Neatness was paramount. "Everything was orderly and systematic" (Quarles, 1884, p. 338).

¹³ A teacher's platform occupied the center front of the main classroom. Students worked at double seated wooden desks, and moved to a single front row of seats during periods of recitation (Johnston, 1932).

One of Kemper's students remembered that "religious duties were required. There was scripture reading and prayer at breakfast. The school attended the Presbyterian Church in a body three times a week under the escort of Mr. Kemper" (Johnston, 1932). Yet, although religious studies figured prominently in Kemper's educational plan, Presbyterian doctrine was not heavily stressed. Baptists, Methodists, and even Universalists were welcomed into his school. Whether this was due to fiscal necessity or a "liberality of his spirit . . . [without] the faintest tinge of bigotry" (Quarles, 1884, p. 180) is a moot, though debatable, point. Morality and self-discipline, not sectarianism, were emphasized. Daily Bible study and meditation were used to develop

sound thinkers. It is one thing to learn the words in which principles are couched, and quite another to have those principles, by profound meditation, to become a part of your very being. . . . Mind, gentlemen, must control muscle. This is nature's law. But it is only the disciplined mind that is really effective The teacher is the educator of mind, . . . the material on which, and the instrument with which he works, . . . [and the] mind is developed by exercise. . . . (Kemper, 1856/1884a)

Unfortunately, Kemper, it would appear, remained plagued by the same uncontrollable temper--especially when confronted by insolent or indolent pupils--that had caused him trouble in Philadelphia. In his journal, Kemper despaired that when some students were unprepared for a drama rehearsal he became "uncomfortably, though not disgracefully, vexed," resolving later to maintain "perfect self control" and "control others successfully and pleasantly to them and me" (Kemper, 1849/1884a,

p. 182). Apparently, Kemper's outbursts could be quite violent for even his most devoted admirer, James A. Quarles¹⁴, reminisced that

I recall two incidents of those early days. . . . On one occasion Mr. Kemper rapped me over the head with his knuckles, causing an inflammation that produced a bald spot on the crown of my head. He had two oblong blocks of wood, one "tea" and the other "coffee," the choice of which he gave me on my hand. (Quarles, 1901, p. 29)

Others also recollected that

Discipline was exact. A sheriff was appointed from the student body for assistance in enforcement, and he was in turn assisted by "monitors". The requirements for attendance, order, and obedience were strict and strictly enforced.

On the opening day of school . . . students were required to sign and conform to this pledge: "We whose names are annexed deliberately and solemnly promise that, while we continue members of this school, we will use our best endeavors to comply with all the rules and . . . obeying law, not in the letter only, but in spirit." . . .

Mr. Kemper held that law (his rules) should be invincible. Whatever was necessary to enforce it he did not hesitate to do. . . . Kemper would beat up a student rather than expel him. (Johnston, 1932)

Still, neither Kemper's temper or strictness inhibited enrollment.

As the number of students continued to increase, Kemper found it impossible to manage several classrooms without full-time assistance. So, he employed one of his former pupils as a chemistry instructor, and hired two more--Tyre and James Harris--to help him teach the other courses. Tyre instructed classes in Kemper's bedroom while James and Kemper taught downstairs. Income was divided with half going to the brothers and half remaining with Kemper. Unfortunately, the school did

¹⁴ Quarles entered Kemper's school as an eight year old in 1845 and remained enrolled until 1854, a "longer period than fell to the privilege of any other pupil" (Quarles, 1902, p. 29).

not earn enough money¹⁵ and the Harrises were dismissed at the end of the year (Quarles, 1884).

Although Kemper was forced to temporarily limit enrollment, local pressure eventually caused him to accept more day students. He was, however, far from pleased with the prospect of these additional pupils, noting in his journal; "More than a year ago, having experienced much loss of labor from absent boys, I restricted my number to thirty scholars. . . ." (1849/1884a, p. 185). Moreover, he feared that costs incurred in expanding his academy could never be recouped, and he would be forever overworked, "a poor teacher, without health, wealth, or honor" (1851/1884a, p. 192).

Suppose the house contemplated is put up, and I have one hundred scholars and two assistants. This is one teacher to thirty-three and one third pupils. If they average twenty dollars, it will be two thousand dollars. One thousand will be needed each year for three years to pay for property. Then one thousand divided between three persons would leave for me three hundred and thirty-three dollars. Would this pay fire-wood, food, clothes, taxes, servants, expenses for self and wife? (1851/1884a, p. 191)

Yet, despite these concerns, his commitment to teaching and pressure from community leaders lead him to commission a structural addition to his school house, funded by the sale of stock to a local consortium, which Kemper agreed to repurchase as soon as he was able.

It was put up as an ell to the front building . . . enclosing in a hall the steps leading to the second story. This improvement was necessary for the accommodation of those who wished to avail themselves of the benefits of the school. . . . The addition had a hall and one large room on each of its two floors. Mr. Kemper took the intermediate pupils into the lower room, James M. Byler was given the primaries in the old school-room, and L.M. Lawson took charge of the most advanced classes in the upper room of the new building. (Quarles, 1884, p. 151)

¹⁵ Gross income for the 1845-1846 school year was only \$1207.11.

Indeed, this addition absorbed the increasing enrollment of local day students, and by the summer of 1852, when one hundred twenty-seven pupils--some at no charge as part of the financial agreement with the community--were attending the academy, Kemper's fiscal worries had dissipated.

Here I will record some things in my property affairs for which to be grateful. My pecuniary affairs are in a much better condition than when I came to B[oonville]. Then I rented dwelling and school-room. Now I pay my board by rent of my dwelling, . . . having my own free, and am yearly paying for a good house and lot. The past year I have paid upward of seven hundred dollars on it, and some for school furniture. I pay no security debts now: that is about all paid. (Kemper, 1852/1884a, pp. 191-2)

Clearly, the Boonville community was interested in educating its sons and saw the academy the means for doing so. In fact, later that year community leaders, led by the local Presbyterian pastor, gained Kemper's permission to petition the state legislature and request a charter to expand the Male Collegiate Institute into a full-fledged college. The following February a charter was granted to incorporate Boonville College.

Whereas, the school known as The Boonville Male Collegiate Institute, located in Boonville, Cooper County, has sustained itself for many years, admitted pupils for high standing in the best colleges, and has been supplied by its founder, F.T. Kemper, with suitable buildings and fixtures; and whereas, it is desired by the community sustaining said school to erect it into a college, which shall, in addition to the usual routine of literary and professional instruction have normal and agricultural schools for the special education of farmers and teachers; the whole to be no engine of any sect, and responsible to no ecclesiastical judicature, and yet remaining as heretofore, under Presbyterian influence; therefore, Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri . . . [that it is] hereby constituted a body corporate, under the name and style of "Boonville College." (Missouri General Assembly, 12 February 1853/1884)

Although Kemper was none too eager about the prospect of transforming his academy into a classical nineteenth century college,

his long-time interest in the training of teachers was peaked when potential trustees suggested establishing a normal school. In a report to the trustees of Boonville College, Kemper declared that "education should be a professional business," "a learned profession," and "that teachers should be professionally educated." Delineating his "plan for a school of pedagogic," he recommended a three year course of study emphasizing "the nature, the history, and the present state of education." Additionally, a future teacher would be instructed in school architecture, health, personal conduct, and "last, though not least, the economics of his profession, the way to make it pay. . . ." Further, Kemper recommended that as an incentive to inspire quality performance after graduation, a "Doctor of Philosophy be awarded upon completion of three successful years of teaching" (Quarles, 1884, pp. 157-158).

Always concerned with solvency, Kemper insisted that a sixty thousand dollar endowment be established before converting his academy into a college and suggested that the community raise this money by selling a variety of transferable scholarships. Additionally, he recommended that at least one hundred thousand dollars be raised "by subscription of one dollar each from the patriotic and Christian ladies of our beloved country" to start operations with a sound financial foundation (Quarles, 1884).

Table 4.

Boonville College Transferable Scholarships

Cost	Entitlement
<hr/>	
\$ 300	4 years of preparatory, collegiate, or combined tuition
\$ 600	16 years of preparatory, collegiate, or combined tuition
\$ 900	8 years of preparatory tuition, plus an additional 16 years of preparatory, collegiate, or combined tuition
\$1,800	Perpetual tuition

However, perhaps to Kemper's relief, sufficient money was never raised and Boonville College never opened its doors.¹⁶ Certainly, some of his former students were pleased.

We all should rejoice that no college was instituted. Missouri has of them all that will be needed probably for a hundred years to come. But it has no other school which has done or can do the work accomplished by the . . . academy of Mr. Kemper. We need twenty more of the same kind in Missouri now. (Quarles, 1884, p. 158-160)

There were, perhaps, other reasons that the Boonville College plan was abandoned. When Kemper's father died in 1853, a sizeable inheritance allowed him to pay off his debts and buy a small farm just

¹⁶ There was simply too much competition within the state. At the same time the Presbyterians were trying to start Boonville College, they were trying to establish colleges at Fulton and Richmond as well. Also the Baptists were busy raising money to open a college at Liberty, the Methodists had set their sights on building a college at Fayette, and the Masons were attempting to reopen Marion College at Lexington (Burke, 1982; Quarles, 1884).

outside of town. More importantly, it provided Kemper with the financial security he felt necessary to propose to his long time sweetheart, Susan Taylor.¹⁷ With his new found security and impending marriage, Kemper lost what little interest he had in the risky business of opening a college. Instead, he and his wife decided to reemphasize the boarding aspects of the academy, renaming it the Kemper Family School. Over the next two years, day students were gradually all but eliminated from the academy, and enrollment was once more reduced to about thirty students.

When Kemper's health--always fragile from repeated episodes of religious fasting and chronic insomnia--took a turn for the worse (Quarles, 1884), he decided to limit enrollment to only "twelve approved" boarders and a "very small and select number of day scholars," while increasing tuition to two hundred dollars per year (Weekly Advertiser, 1856a, p. 1). He also decided to divide his classes into classical and business departments. The classical course of study would continue to emphasize the same subjects that had always formed the school's curricular core, but the new business curriculum included courses in bookkeeping and stressed English--not Latin or Greek--grammar, spelling, and composition (Kemper, 1856). When her husband's health failed to improve, Mrs. Kemper insisted he abandon his school to recuperate. Coincidentally, Samuel Laws, president of the young Presbyterian school at Fulton, Westminster College, found the financial

¹⁷ Kemper first met Susan Taylor in 1849 when she came to Boonville to teach at one of the town's girls' academies. Also a Presbyterian, she attended Kemper's Sunday school class and it was during the study of "the prophecy of Daniel . . . that the attachment of Mr. Kemper and Miss Taylor began" (Quarles, 1884, p. 166).

position of his institution so perilous that he personally took to the road soliciting endowments. Kemper, whose reputation as a Presbyterian educator was well established, was asked to fill the void (Quarles, 1884). The decision was apparently an easy one for Kemper to make, for by September, he had sold the academy to his long-time acolyte, James A. Quarles, and moved to Fulton where he lived for the next five years.¹⁸ Quarles attempted to capitalize on Kemper's reputation, and in mid-October he placed an advertisement in a local paper.

Select School.--Mr. J. A. Quarles will open on Monday next, a select school for small boys in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Kemper. As his school will be small, he wishes only those boys who profess a good moral character, and who have a conscience to which he can appeal. (Weekly Advertiser, 1856b, p. 2)

Apparently, there were either too few young boys of character or the public did not have the same confidence in Quarles as it did in Kemper, for Quarles was forced to sell the school the following year to a Mr. Fielding who converted it into a school for girls. Fielding, too, had problems continuing operations and, in turn, sold his interest in the school to Lawson Drury. With the onset of the Civil War, Drury also had problems making ends meet, abandoned the property, and stopped making payments to Kemper. Kemper, quickly determined to return to Boonville to sell his building once more and use the proceeds to open a small boarding school at his farm. Apparently, Kemper had enough of Westminster College, finding the specialized nature of his classes

¹⁸ Kemper did not only serve Westminster College as an interim president, but he was also appointed as a professor of physical science, Greek language, and literature. Additionally, he frequently taught classes in analogy, the Constitution, composition, English grammar, rhetoric, and arithmetic (Quarles, 1884).

unfulfilling and the school's lack of discipline appalling (Quarles, 1884).¹⁹

Upon his return, Kemper could find no one interested in buying his Third Street building, so, in September of 1861, he reopened the boarding school in town and not at his farm. Interestingly, while other schools throughout the region continued to close their doors as a direct result of the war, Kemper had no trouble at all attracting students to his school. Again, community pressure forced him to accept numerous day students that increased enrollment far above his desired level of thirty pupils (Quarles, 1884).

The 1862-1863 school catalog (Catalog of the Family and Select Day School For the year ending July 10, 1863, 1863) listed one hundred thirty-five students enrolled for the school year, of which over thirty were female. To meet this demand, not only did Kemper hire additional teachers, but he also formed a partnership with his wife's brother, Edwin H. Taylor. In most respects, the school had changed little from its antebellum days. Of course, the admission of female students was the biggest change. Although, the boarding department, was limited to boys only, girls were treated no differently than any male day student.

While the Family School is exclusively for boys and young men, a few girls are admitted into the Day School, provided they are willing to encounter the drudgery of real mental discipline. This school was conducted for many years on the supposition that the union of the sexes, even in a day school, is detrimental to the success of both parties. The trial of the last two years has exploded this opinion. . . . Besides, the girls of Missouri need a much more masculine type of mental exercise than most of them have been inured to. Timothy Titcomb expresses the opinion that a

¹⁹ Kemper apparently had been recently censured by the school's administration for disciplining his college students much as he used to discipline his younger pupils (Quarles, 1884)

woman on leaving school may be ten years ahead of a man, and yet, in the long run, be left behind, in consequence of the associations peculiar to their respective spheres. And Sydney Smith, the great British Essayist, warmly enforces the importance of training the female mind in solid studies in opposition to mere accomplishments. Our practice coincides with the teachings of these writers.

This new academy was divided into three separate schools. His four year Primary School concentrated, of course, on reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also included classes in geography, spelling, penmanship, declamation, music, and bookkeeping. A four class Grammar School continued studies in arithmetic and bookkeeping, but focused most student effort toward mastering Latin, Greek, English grammar, and history. As a capstone, students completed their work in the Collegiate School studying algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, advanced composition and rhetoric, psychology, political economy, metaphysics, botany, chemistry, astronomy, and zoology, in addition to such classical writers as Livy, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato. Kemper designed this collegiate study to ensure that after taking boys through "such a course . . . they could graduate in one year at the State University. . . ."

Although Day School students might study at any of the three levels, Kemper most emphatically encouraged parents to enroll their boys as boarders.

Public education in Europe and America has been the ruin of a frightful proportion of the, so-called, educated young men. In this school, boys, and young men too, are brought up as the children of a veteran teacher. He assumes and enforces parental authority as long as they are under his instruction.²⁰

²⁰ Kemper was once called as a witness into court "To identify him, the usual questions were put as to his name, residence, etc. When asked, 'What is your occupation?' he bowed his head a moment, then

They are not allowed to waste time on the streets, . . . and they are kept properly employed at night and on Saturday and Sunday. . . .

Their health is sedulously guarded by a proper supervision of their hours of exercise, recreation and repose. . . .²¹

Most importantly, though, to develop the moral fiber of his boarders, Kemper employed the Bible as "a book of daily reading and study, and on Sunday the geography, history, and general literature of the Bible are taught in a family Sunday school, which meets twice during the day." Additionally, boys in the Family School attended church twice weekly and participated in daily "family worship".

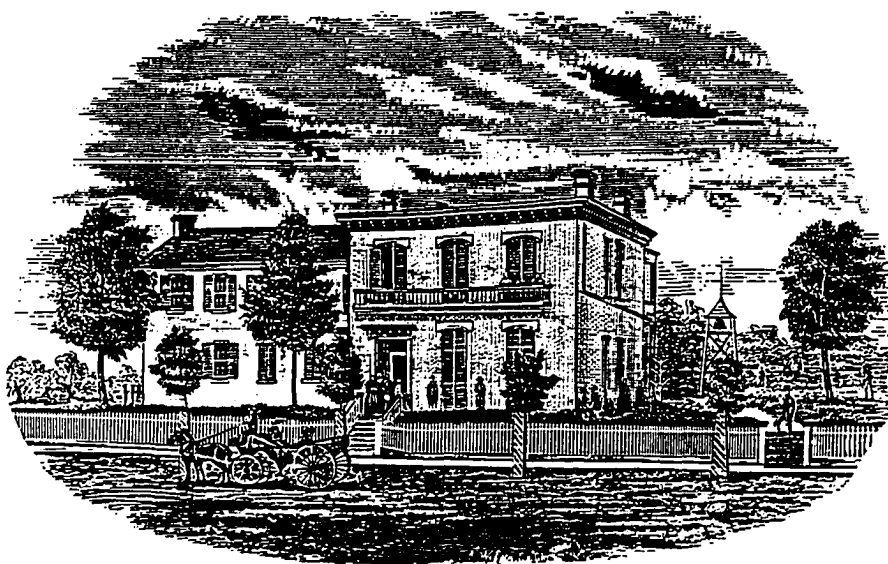
When Taylor's wife died in 1865 and he decided to return to his family home, Kemper once more reduced the number of day students enrolled and concentrated his efforts upon increasing the number of boarders, this time rechristening his institution as The Kemper Family School. He recognized that to succeed solely as a boarding academy, he would once more need to enlarge his facilities, and another building was constructed to serve as the principal classroom. This allowed Kemper to increase lodging space to comfortably accommodate about 20 boarders. Apparently Kemper also began to recruit outside of the local area as students enrolled for the 1866-1867 school year came from as far away as

looked up and replied, 'The maker of men'" (Quarles, 1884, p. 283).

²¹ One of Kemper's former students, recalling the death of a friend, remarked, "Perhaps his was a case of too much work and not enough play. Mr. Kemper always laid great stress on the importance of having enough of each" (Kinsbury, undated). Other former Kemper boys (Johnston, 1932, and Quarles, 1884) have similar recollections. Kemper often joined his boarders early each morning in swimming, cat, or townball, and every student's day began with a brisk two and one-half mile walk.

Virginia, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Enrollment hovered around thirty-five students for the next several years, due primarily to lack of rooms to house more boarders. So, after eliminating day students in 1871,²² Kemper spent several thousand dollars on another addition to the main building.

Illustration 4



The Kemper Family School in 1872

In 1872, one of Kemper's former students, Thomas A. Johnston, joined him as an assistant principal. Johnston had finished his studies at the Family School in 1871 and enrolled at the University of Missouri as a senior. When he graduated as valedictorian the following year--

²² Kemper was never in favor of admitting day students to his school and did so only in response to community or fiscal pressures. He, like Quarles (1884, p. 235) believed that "day and boarding pupils together are incongruous elements intimately associated. Regulations which are appropriate to the one class are not adapted to the other."

affirming Kemper's claim in his 1862-1863 catalog--Johnston turned down a faculty appointment at Columbia to return to Boonville. Most interesting is Johnston's subsequent militaristic endorsement of Kemper's philosophy in the school "Announcement for 1872-1873."

I regard your school system as supplying an absolute need in education. While colleges, by the very nature of their organization, must often be content with simply imparting knowledge to warped and unbalanced minds, your system takes hold of the mind itself with the authority of a father, and, by an invincible soldierly drill, renders it capable of gathering its own stores and utilizing them at pleasure. (1872)

Illustration 5



Frederick T. Kemper



Thomas A. Johnston

The "soldierly" nature of the school was further emphasized with the adoption of a school uniform the following year: "To promote economy we have adopted for our scholars a uniform of cadet gray trimmed with

black, somewhat similar to that of the West Point Military Academy"

(Announcement for 1873-74, 1873). The school catalog for 1875 (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875) goes into even more detail.

Every pupil who enters the school is required to have a uniform. It consists of coat, pants, and cap of cadet gray, cut in the military style. It is required to be worn in marching to church and other public places, on the street, and on all dress occasions; and one suit must be always in order. With the uniform must be worn turn-down collars and plain black neckties or bows. Jewelry, such as pins and rings, must not be worn; and all foppery and dash in dress is discouraged as unbecoming the character of students. The uniform is made by the school tailor after the student's arrival here, and costs from \$20 to \$30 according to size. If any one undertakes to get it made elsewhere, great care should be taken to have it conform to the requirements in all respects, as deviations will not be allowed. (p. 9-10)

Illustration 6



The First Uniform

Popular demand for enrollment in his school left Kemper financially secure enough--he was averaging over fifty boarders a year--to carefully select his students.²³

The College assumes that its students are men, with intellects sufficiently matured, and habits sufficiently strong, to govern themselves and make the best use of the advantages which it presents. Our students, of whatever age, are boys, with unenlightened judgments and perverse wills, which must be enlightened and molded to fit them for useful ends. . . .

[However,] we warn parents not to send us bad or ungovernable boys. Our school is not made for such, and we do not profess to be able to succeed with them. Such boys are sent home as soon as their characters become known. . . .

While the infliction of punishment is distressing to every humane authority, it is a sober truth that law without penalty is futile, and education without law is an impossibility. . . . A boy [who] has, by general insolence and disregard of law, wasted much of the school year . . . has become proof against advice and reproof; his example has become ruinous to the other boys; he would like to be sent home to escape the cross of labor, and reaches the climax of bad conduct by defiantly telling a teacher he will not study. We will punish such a boy until he finds there are some harder things than to behave himself. . . .

Parents are expected to interfere as little as possible with the school government, and it is important that they should at all times give their support. Ill-advised sympathy may confirm a boy in a course of insubordination that will render it necessary to send him home. Parents are expected to make the following agreement and pledge, which will be sent them for signature at the time of entering their sons:

"I understand and accept the terms of the Kemper Family School as set forth in the Catalogue of the past year. My son, _____, has not been expelled from any School or College; and, as far as I understand his character, he is not likely to give any special trouble to the government of the School. I will send, or cause to be sent, any money designed for his use only to Mr. Johnston; I will pay no debts of his, contracted without proper permission; and I will not allow eatables to be sent him from home." (pp. 8-10)

²³ Quarles (1884) noted that pupils from nineteen Missouri counties, ten states or territories, and one foreign country enrolled for the 1880 school year.

While, for the most part, students that were enrolled were neither "insolent" or "ruinous," many appeared to enjoy disregarding Kemper's "law."

The new students that entered in the fall of 1874 . . . had our ups and downs. . . . [The] "Tops roll"²⁴ was filled to overflowing and Saturdays were spent in "proving up" our delinquencies. It was pleasant to see the smile of those who had passed unscathed, or, rather, uncaught. . . .

One night five of us had an engagement out in town, but the question was as to how we could get out. After consultation, we all concluded to get "Sickroom permits" and start from that room. We succeeded in getting the permits and as the hour of midnight approached we started. To avoid making a noise at the gate, we were to step from the terrace over on the railing to which the pickets were nailed, then over into the street. Four passed over all right. As the fifth stepped on the railing his feet slipped and he fell over. . . . As he struggled to free himself he made a noise, and the others, imagining that Mr. Kemper had caught him, began to run. As No. 5 freed himself he in turn imagined that the others had seen Mr. Kemper approaching, so he followed on a run. Then there was a race for 600 yards compared with which Ben-Hur's chariot race would pale into insignificance. Finally, one faint from exhaustion fell and No. 5 caught up; then it was that the truth was ascertained, that we were simply running against time. (Telle, 1902, pp. 32-34)

During this period, the school curriculum was significantly altered. Kemper--or, perhaps more likely, Johnston--specifically noted in the catalog that the school's "design is to fit students, in the most thorough manner, for College and the United States Naval and Military Academies" (p. 11). Although primary studies had been eliminated, three progressively less traditional three-year courses of study were offered.

²⁴ Johnston (1932) described the "Tops roll" as follows.

A record book with all delinquencies and failures bore the technical name of T.O.P.S. It was divided into successive columns headed: Name, Tardy, Out, Prisoner, Sick. "Prisoner" referred to confinement for any infraction. Service for an infraction had to be strictly executed. Frequently it consisted in memorizing, or in reading a page in the dictionary correctly--no small task.

Although the school continued to recommend its comprehensive Classical Course, renowned for "imparting a broad culture," a Latin Course, substituting chemistry, astronomy, German, philosophy, and logic for Greek studies was also offered. Although not as highly touted, Kemper also began a new Commercial Course with natural philosophy and geology replacing the remaining classes in Latin. A Post Graduate Course of studies was also offered that included, "all the pure mathematics taught in the State University, and sufficient Latin and Greek to fit a student for the Senior Class in College." Additionally, all students received training in "vocal music, gymnastics, military drill, and drawing," not to "make musicians, gymnasts, soldiers, or artists, but as important aids to general culture . . ." (Catalog of the Kemper Family School for Boys and Young Men, 1875, pp. 11-14).

The ever increasing responsibility granted to Johnston for the daily administration of the school made it obvious to all that he was Kemper's chosen successor, and, in fact, Kemper eventually officially recognized him as such. So, when Kemper was struck with "the hardest chill" of his life while teaching a class in March of 1881 and died in bed at the academy six days later, Johnston was appointed as Senior Principal and offered the option to purchase the school (Johnston, 1932; Quarles, 1884).

The Johnston Era

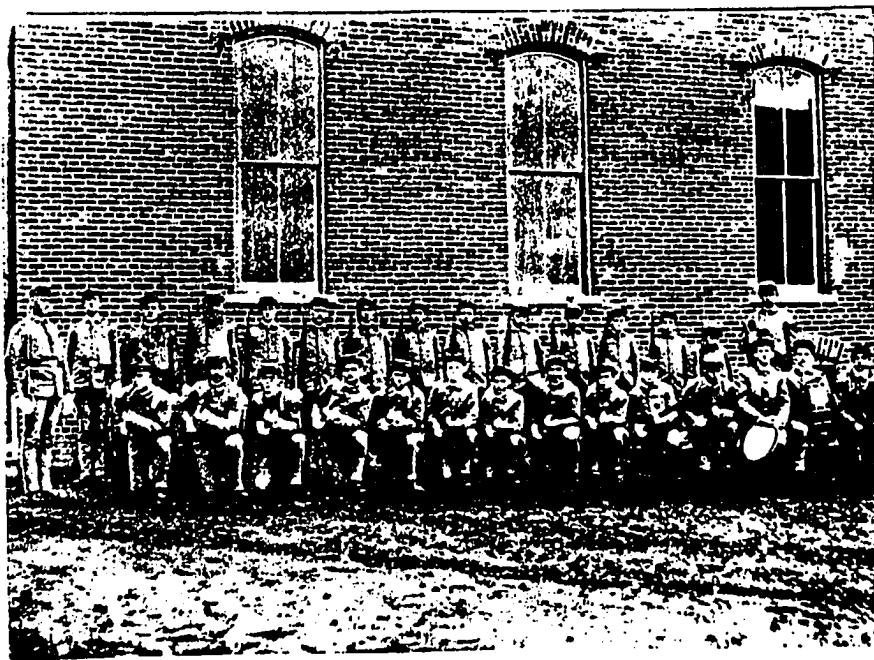
Kemper's school was well worth the sixteen thousand dollars Thomas A. Johnston paid to his mentor's estate. For the money, Johnston inherited a proven cadre of four teachers, a stable enrollment of over sixty students from around the nation, a well-maintained facility, and a fiscally sound set of books. More importantly, Frederick Kemper's influence--within the community and among the students--remained strong. Yet, Johnston was troubled by several problems. He recognized that his school had no firm focus, and despite Kemper's repeated efforts to attract advanced students, new pupils continued to require primary training, pulling resources from the Classical, Latin, and Commercial programs. Further, during Frederick Kemper's life, the school had been "a one man affair, with limitations on expansion thereby imposed." And, "in the line of discipline and training there was equal need for development." "Methods of discipline and training, while vigorous, lacked modernity and finish" (Johnston, 1932).

Eventually, Johnston set about to provide the focus he sought by increasing the military component of his school's curriculum.²⁵ Years later he remarked, that "the development of the military idea and system became essential," for although Frederick Kemper's "methods of training were military in essentials," they were "not in form" (Johnston, 1932).

²⁵ Dyer (1984?) suggested--much as hasSizer (1964)--that perhaps Johnston's switch to a military focus was due to increasing competition from the ever growing system of public high schools. He noted that with the advent of public secondary education in Missouri, the old private schools began to disappear unless they were able to "offer something the public schools didn't. . . . Thus, a school like Kemper, which had never had to seriously compete with other private schools in the state, began to realize by the 1880s that competition was becoming a significant factor in its economic stability."

Accordingly, Johnston hired William A. Annin in 1885 as an instructor of military tactics. Although Annin was a civilian, Johnston titled him Captain Commanding and organized the students into a military unit that trained using the "system of instruction and tactics . . . of the United States Army and the National Guard of Missouri." New, more distinctly military, uniforms were designed, and cadets began to drill with Springfield rifles (Kemper Family School, 1886, 1887, 1888).

Illustration 7



The Military Unit, 1886

Echoing Alden Partridge's interest in physical education, Johnston proudly boasted to parents that at Kemper

the military art is of great utility in school work as an assistant in physical training and exercise. It is . . . a means of promoting health and bodily development, the cultivation of correct and manly carriage, and the formation of habits of promptitude, precision, and obedience. (Kemper Family School, 1886)

Within the next three years, Johnston expanded his "military unit" into a full fledged Military Department, presided over by graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, S.D. Rockenback. Students were organized into a battalion of two companies and formations were held before all meals after which cadets--for boys were no longer referred to as simply pupils--marched to their places at the table. Cadets were appointed as either privates or officers, the officers having been selected based upon demonstrated performance, conduct, and discipline (Kemper Family School, 1889). Indeed, military discipline and order fully supplanted what was left of traditional "Kemper Law." Printed copies of school "regulations" were provided all cadets, "covering all essential points of duties and conduct," to include requirements that:

Military discipline shall always be enforced; and it will be the duty of all cadet officers and non-commissioned officers to assist in maintaining it. . . .

Cadets will obey without question the orders of their superior officers. . . .

Military courtesy will be observed by all cadets. . . .

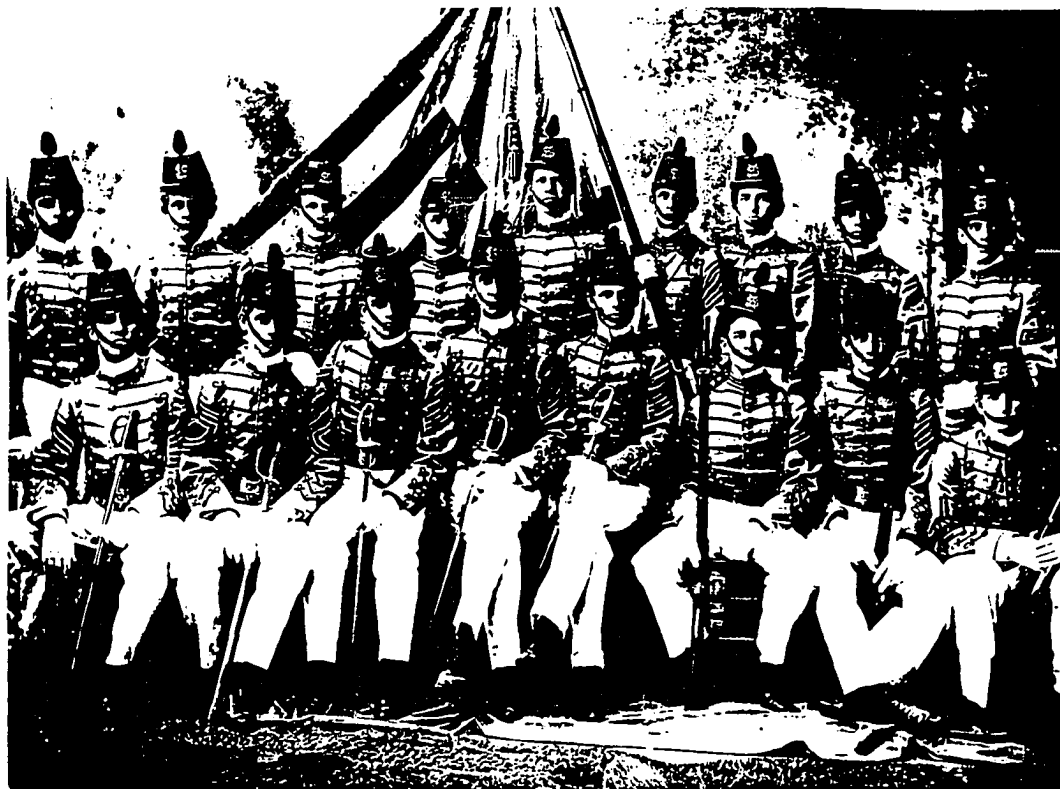
[And, that cadets] will endeavor to cultivate a military bearing and neatness of appearance. . . . (Kemper School, 1898, p. 40)

Violators of school regulations were not met with the violent outbursts common under the reign of Frederick Kemper. Rather, after an

impartial hearing, those found guilty received demerits, were reduced in rank, were confined to their rooms, or received punishment "tours of duty." "Cadets serving tours of extra duty . . . [would] walk, equipped as sentinels, upon the posts designated by the Officer of the Day." No talking was allowed (Kemper School, 1898, p. 42).

As if to celebrate the continuing transition into what Johnston described as a full-fledged "Military Academy," new West Point style uniforms--white pants and long-tailed, grey jackets with gilt ball buttons--were issued (Kemper Family School, 1890).

Illustration 8



The New Uniforms

Further, Johnston began to lobby for official recognition of his school with the assistance of state Senator, F.M. Cockrell (Johnston, 1932), and by 1897, they had successfully convinced the War Department to assign a Regular Army Professor of Military Science and Tactics, known as a P.M.S.&T., to Kemper under the provisions of a law passed by Congress in 1893.

The President may, upon the application of any established military institute, seminary, or academy, college, or university, within the United States, having capacity to educate at the same time not less than one hundred and fifty male students, detail an officer of the Army or Navy to act as superintendent or professor thereof. . . . (U.S. Congress, 1893)

In addition to assigning retired First Lieutenant George D. Moore to the school, the Army also issued Kemper a new set of rifles, a supply of training ammunition, and a battery of artillery--consisting of two breechloaders. Commensurate with this increase in official military support, Johnston came to see military education as more than simply a mechanism to cultivate a "manly carriage," explaining to potential cadets and their parents that the true "value of military training" was most apparent "in times of national peril."

In this respect the importance of Military education can not be overestimated. Our late civil war is an instance in point. It was undoubtedly longer and more destructive than it need have been through the great lack of trained men, capable of becoming officers and drilling raw volunteers into efficient soldiers. Whenever such a time of need shall again arise the youths who have received military training will undoubtedly be the ones on whom the nation will chiefly rely to become officers and leaders. The control of affairs will be largely in their hands. It is not well to hope for dangerous emergencies in order to reap personal advantage therefrom, but it is also unwise not to make timely preparation for meeting the most perilous situations with the greatest possible degree of credit and success. (Kemper School, 1897, p. 16)

Even more important to the future of the school, Johnston and Cockrell were able to convince the Missouri General Assembly to recognize the school as an official post of the state's National Guard.

The Kemper Military School at Boonville, Missouri is hereby constituted a post in the National Guard of Missouri, and the Governor is hereby directed to provide for the annual inspection by appointing for this purpose a committee of three members recommended respectively by the adjutant-general, the State superintendent of public instruction, and the president of the State board of health. The Governor is furthermore authorized and directed to appoint and commission the officers of the School as officers of the National Guard of Missouri, to rank as follows: the superintendent as colonel; the principal as lieutenant-colonel; the commandant as major; the quartermaster as major; the surgeon as major; the adjutant as captain; the professors as captains; and the graduates as second lieutenants. . . .
(Missouri General Assembly, 1899)

Johnston, now a Missouri National Guard Colonel, continued to stress the military nature of the school, emphasizing in his catalogs that, upon graduation, Kemper graduates received official National Guard commissions.

Illustration 9



Colonel T.A. Johnston, Missouri National Guard

Additionally, stressing Kemper's commitment to producing first-rate military leaders, Johnston was quick to point out that the War Department's General Order No. 26 allowed his three top graduates of each year to enter the Regular Army. His catalogs reported that cadets learned the basics of Army organization and administration; strategy and tactics; the military systems of Frederick the Great and Napoleon; the technical intricacies of artillery, engineering, and logistics; as well as "the school of the soldier, the company, and the battalion" (Kemper School, 1897, p. 23). Yet, the depth of this study apparently was lost on some students, for as one former cadet recalled, "The military program consisted of one hour of drill daily for five days and inspection of arms, rooms and persons on the sixth day. There was very little theoretic work" (Hitch, 1949, p. 5).

Illustration 10



Cadets at Drill

Once Johnston had initiated the school's transition into a military academy, he turned his attention to improving and enlarging its physical plant with an eye toward increasing enrollment. Several thousand dollars were earmarked to modernize the existing dining hall and kitchen. An additional recitation room, a storage area for students' trunks, and seven more boarding quarters were built as well (Kemper Family School, 1887). Two large lakes--for winter skating and summer rowing--were constructed; Frederick Kemper's original school building was refurbished; and the entire campus received a landscaping facelift that included extensive grading and the planting of dozens of trees (Kemper Family School, 1890). By 1897, Johnston was able to boast,

The entire building is heated with steam and lighted by gas.²⁶ First class toilet and bath rooms are provided, supplied with hot and cold water Lodging rooms are of uniform size, suitable for two occupants, . . . [and the] public or common rooms are large and well arranged.²⁷

²⁶ Although, by the turn of the century, Johnston had the school wired for electricity,

it was a novelty and not reliable. The cadet rooms had gas, but the study hall had electricity. The officer in charge of the study hall soon learned however that his first duty on taking charge was to light the gas jet that had wisely been left in place so that if the electricity failed the result would not be total darkness. (Hitch, 1949, p. 6)

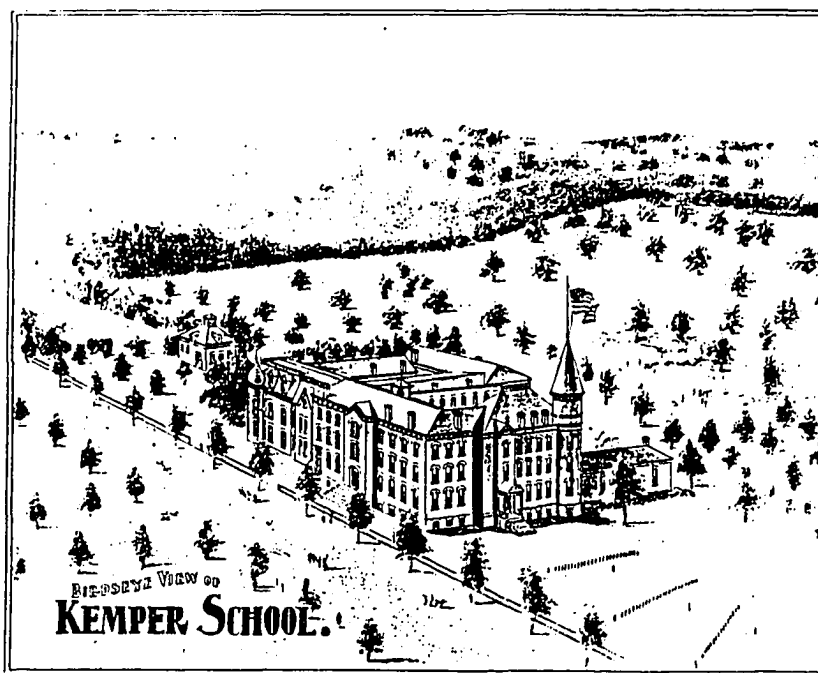
²⁷ Hitch (1949, p. 3) also recounts:

One of the big talking points of the school was the presence of a lavatory in every room with hot and cold running water and a toilet and shower on every hall. The lavatories were short-lived for by neglect, defect or design they were continually overflowing and damaging plaster and woodwork to such an extent that they were taken out. And don't smile at the boast of indoor toilets, . . . remember in those days there were very few big city hotels that had rooms with bath.

There is a brick gymnasium and drill-room, thirty-seven by sixty feet. It is fitted with all appliances needed for physical exercise and development. . . . A separate building is used for a physical and chemical laboratory, . . . well supplied with apparatus in both departments. (Kemper School, 1897)

Demand for enrollment continued to increase, prompting Colonel Johnston to invest once more in the facility, spending twenty thousand dollars to increase its boarding capacity to house and feed one hundred ten cadets. Included in this expansion was a new steam plant, dining hall, armory, and laundry. Additionally, more than six thousand square feet of "granitoid" pavement was laid throughout the campus (Kemper School, 1904).

Illustration 11



The Kemper School in 1904

With both the school's military transition and its expansion well in hand, Johnston began to look at ways to modernize the school's curriculum. In 1881, when he assumed control after Frederick Kemper's death, the school was still offering three courses of study--Classical, Latin, and Commercial/English--and classifying pupils as Junior, Middle, or Senior students. Noting that forcing students into these classifications required teachers to address a wide range of abilities in the Junior and Senior classes, Johnston reorganized the student body, adding Preparatory and Intermediate divisions designed to help both pre-high school and college bound pupils (Kemper Family School, 1886).²⁸

In fact, for some time, few cadets had been completing the Classical program (Kemper Family School, 1881). In 1896, only three of nine graduates completed the Classical curriculum, and of the nine cadets who graduated in 1898 none had done so, most opting instead for the English course of study (Kemper School, 1897, 1898, 1899). By 1899, the University of Missouri had established firm requirements for entry into both its A.B. and B.S. programs. Johnston, thus, made the decision to alter his curriculum to reflect both the changing desires of his cadets and the state's collegiate admissions requirements.

The courses have been carefully revised so as to conform fully to present educational requirements. There are four courses offered. The Classical, Latin, and Scientific are based on the requirements for admission to the State University of Missouri; the first two embodying the requirements for admission to the Classical, or A.B. Course, and the third to the Scientific, or B.S. Course. The Business course is offered for those who do not contemplate attending College. . . . (Kemper School, 1900)

²⁸ Eventually, the five student classes--Preparatory, Junior, Middle, Intermediate, and Senior--were renamed as the Preparatory, Fourth, Third, Second, and First Years.

As part of this revision, the curriculum was simplified.

Table 5.

Curricular Comparison: 1900

Year	Classical	Latin	Scientific	Business
Prep	Reading Spelling Penmanship Geography Grammar Arithmetic Diction Bible	Reading Spelling Penmanship Geography Grammar Arithmetic Diction Bible	Reading Spelling Penmanship Geography Grammar Arithmetic Diction Bible	Reading Spelling Penmanship Geography Grammar Arithmetic Diction Bible
4th	English Arithmetic US History Elocution Bible Latin	English Arithmetic US History Elocution Bible Latin	English Arithmetic US History Elocution Bible Geography	English Arithmetic US History Elocution Bible Geography
3rd	Rhetoric Algebra History English Elocution Caesar Latin Bible	Rhetoric Algebra History English Elocution Caesar Latin Bible	Rhetoric Algebra History English Elocution German/French Bible	Rhetoric Algebra History English Elocution Bookkeeping Bible
2nd	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature Cicero Latin Bible	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature Cicero Latin Bible	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature German/French Bible	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature Stenography Bible
1st	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature Virgil Anabasis Greek Bible	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature Virgil Physics Latin Bible	Geometry Writing Elocution Literature History Physics Bible	Geometry Writing Elocution Law History Physics Bible

As American education moved towards standardization in the early twentieth century, Kemper was one of the first Missouri schools to join the process, applying for admission to the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools during the 1906 school year. Johnston directed his new school principal, A.M. Hitch, to coordinate the process, and accreditation was quickly received with the proviso that for the next school year Kemper revamp its curriculum once more.²⁹ Students were regrouped into either grammar school or high school divisions. Within the high school division, Hitch divided the curriculum into College Preparatory and Business programs. Annual course hours were standardized, as were graduation requirements. To graduate from the College Preparatory course, cadets had to complete four years of English, four of mathematics, four of history, two of chemistry, one of physics, and two of a foreign language. Greek and Latin, though still offered, became mere electives (Kemper School, 1907).³⁰

Although this class work occupied nearly six hours each weekday, it formed only part of a cadet's daily routine. Reveille was prompt at 6:30 each morning. Thirty minutes were allocated to dress and ready oneself for breakfast at 7:00. After a quick meal, cadets underwent

²⁹ The school catalog for the following year noted with pleasure that accreditation, entitling Kemper graduates to enter almost any Midwestern college or university without examination, had been granted to only about twenty schools in the entire state (Kemper School, 1907).

³⁰ Interestingly, Hitch (1949, p. 3) noted in his memoirs that besides standardizing the curricula, the new accreditation process let most schools know "whether they were high schools or colleges." However, this was not the case with Kemper--many of whose graduates were entering the University of Missouri as sophomores. Still, Hitch had to make a decision and "Kemper cast her lot with the high schools. . . ."

inspections and guardmount, reporting for classes at 8:30. One hour of daily drill began at 11:30, followed by lunch and another three hours of afternoon classes. Following an hour of free time and supper, cadets prepared for each evening's dress parade, after which ninety minutes were spent in supervised study. Tattoo was sounded at 8:30 and Taps at 9:00 (Kemper School, 1899, p. 28).

Much of Saturdays and Sundays were occupied as well. Besides inspections, drills, guardmounts, and parades, cadets gave declamations before the school every Saturday morning. Religious instruction received priority.

Cadets marched to church, always the Presbyterian Church, Sunday morning and sat together. That isn't all. They marched to church again Sunday night. As if that wasn't enough they marched to Prayer Meeting Wednesday night. That wasn't the half of it. There was a full course of instruction in the Bible and Church history Sunday morning. . . . (Hitch, 1949, p. 4)

By the turn of the century, Johnston had just begun to emphasize the extracurriculum. Dances were common and occasionally a traveling theatrical troupe performed. The school could boast of one of the region's finest libraries, taking pride in subscriptions to eleven national magazines (Hitch, 1949). There was a music club, and cadets could take either mandolin or guitar lessons. Periodic attempts were made to form school bands or drama clubs, and a school committee began to publish yearbooks--initially titled The Haversack. Occasionally, Johnston scheduled field trips to places like the state capital. Athletics, however were the most lively of all the extracurricular programs. Although some cadets joined the school's tennis club, team sports--football, baseball, and basketball--were most

popular, with Kemper squads traveling throughout the state to find suitable opponents³¹ (Kemper School, 1898, 1900; Haversack, 1901, 1902).

Yet, as a student reflected in the school's yearbook, "All is not sunshine here; were it so, it would be a pleasure resort, and not an educational institution" (McCurtain, 1902, p. 36). Johnston continued to emphasize discipline, self-control, and character building reenforced by a military code. Smoking, firearms, card playing, "the use of intoxicating liquors, . . . trashy or immoral literature, . . . [and] spitting on floors" were all prohibited, as were "visit[s] to saloons or gambling places" (Kemper School, 1898, pp. 40-41). Of all qualities, honesty was stressed the most.

A tendency to untruthfulness or lack of straightforwardness on the part of any cadet will be promptly checked. It is assumed that a high standard in this regard will always be kept up; and that any sentiment exhibited by any new cadet not in accordance with this standard will be discouraged by older students. (Kemper School, 1898, p. 41)

Although Johnston attempted to use peer pressure in developing his students' character, hazing was officially prohibited. Still, new cadets were initially assigned to the "awkward squad" where, "acting under untrained impulses and in trembling fear," they make numerous military mistakes "to the amusement of others" and their own chagrin. This was done to lead newcomers "without prejudice into full fellowship with the other students of the school" (McCurtain, 1902, p. 36).

In fact, few of Kemper's new boys had any familiarity with the military, and many arrived much as did the school's most famous alumnus.

³¹ Other military schools, especially the Wentworth Military Academy, were Kemper's chief rivals. However, to find competition, the school challenged all comers, even the "Dummies" of the Missouri State School for the Deaf and Dumb, by whom they were soundly thrashed.

Will Rogers entered Kemper January 13, 1897, coming from his father's ranch near Oologah, Indian Territory, . . . all dressed up in a ten-gallon hat, with a braided horse-hair cord, flannel shirt with a red bandanna handkerchief, highly colored vest, and high heeled red top boots with spurs and with his trouser legs in his boot tops. He carried coiled ropes outside his luggage. . . . He arrived in his Sunday best, a dressed up cowboy. (Hitch, 1935, p. 4)

Indoctrination into the "full fellowship with the other students" soon followed a cadet's arrival, and many found it to be quite an unpleasant experience.

On stepping off the train I met with a chorus of yells such as "New boy, new boy," . . . "Who cuts your hair?" "This way to the street-cars," "Rube," etc. . . .

I arrived at Kemper, where I was received . . . by a crowd of open-mouthed old boys, . . . and thought if only I could be left alone for a few moments, I could cry my eyes out. But, alas! before I had started to unpack, a troop of cadets poured into my room and with much laughter insisted on helping me unpack, which they did, in spite of all my objections.

A horn blew and some fellow yelled "Mess," when all the fellows left the room. . . . I sat down, wondering where all the boys had disappeared so suddenly, and after thinking of home many times, was finally startled by another blast of the horn. . . . I had not remained long in my dream before the same crowd of fellows were back in my room. Asking one of them, after much hesitation, where they had been, he replied: "To supper, of course, you dummy". . . . Only to think, I had missed my supper (a badly needed one too), and, to make matters worse, I had shown how green I was. . . . They all laughed, but I felt otherwise.

That horn blew again and they all went down the hall. I didn't know but I might get something to eat if I followed them, so I followed. They led me down in the court, . . . where I was put into a company, and, shaking at the knees, I managed to answer my name at Roll-call, and after passing a most miserable evening in the Study Hall, stole up to my room. I wanted to get into bed as soon as possible without attracting attention, but on getting into bed, found that it had occupants already in the shape of shoes, soap, and bayonets, along with a stray blacking-brush or two. I pulled them out. . . and started back to bed, when, "Lo and behold" the slats in the bed gave way and I landed on the floor along with my bed clothes. . . . That infernal "horn" piped again and someone on the hall yelled, "Light out." I, of course, looked out to see what in the name of heaven he could be yelling about. I was met by a fellow who said, "Douse your glim, new

boy." "Douse my glim?" I tried to think what that could mean, but was completely dumb-founded. At last he said, "This is taps; put out your light, and don't blow it out, either, for we will need you tomorrow to hunt fish with." So, without answering him, I turned out my gas with many thoughts of home [and] momma. . . . (Anonymous, 1902, pp. 44-45).

Parents, many wealthy and prominent, often sent their sons to Kemper after they experienced problems or difficulties at other schools. Will Rogers was typical, enrolling with previously irregular schooling and a marked resistance to discipline of any kind. His father, "one of the most successful and best known 'cow men' of northeastern Indian Territory," was insistent that Will receive both a "proper education" and the discipline that would allow him to overcome a "lack of interest," "conquer his restlessness," and prevent his "weakness" from standing "in the way of his business success" (Hitch, 1935, pp. 18-19). Exaggerating this point, Rogers was fond, in later years, of telling audiences that he and a friend "were sent to the Missouri State Reformatory which is located near the same town and through somebody's mistake, they enrolled us at the Kemper Military Academy instead" (Hitch, 1935, p. 6-7).

Apparently, Johnston's improvements to Kemper's physical plant, his curricular revisions, and his emphasis upon character building through military discipline appealed to many parents. Ninety-six boys enrolled for the 1903 school year, and in 1907, the school's enrollment reached one hundred. By 1908, Johnston fully realized that had tapped a rich vein. Recognizing that he could no longer single-handedly control faculty, staff, and students; manage on-going business operations; and raise money for future expansion; Johnston decided to form a private corporation with capital stock of \$130,000 divided into 1,300 one

hundred dollar shares. Johnston kept 1000 of the shares as compensation for the current value of the school and invited faculty and staff to purchase the remaining three hundred.³² Johnston was, of course, named chairman at the corporation's first meeting on July 12, 1909 (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1909a), and the board quickly decided to invest the money raised by their sale of the three hundred shares in another barracks to house not just students, but chemistry and physics laboratories, manual training shops, offices, and classrooms as well (Kemper Military School, 1909).

Kemper blossomed with its incorporation, and enrollments steadily increased to about two hundred students by 1915. Operations became more professional, academics more modern, military training more rigorous, and publications more slick. School catalogs grew to hundred page, magazine-sized publications, filled with impressive glossy photos. Parents were reminded that

the responsibility of bringing a son into the world and rearing him to manhood has been placed on you, . . . [and] much depends on the thoroughness and intelligence with which this responsibility is discharged. . . . You have had little training for the high function of parenthood, and this like other human pursuits, needs training and skill for successful results. . . .

If you are dissatisfied and perplexed over the results in the case of your boy, I offer in his behalf the services of myself and my corps. . . . The boy should reside at home and be taught there and in the neighboring school till he reaches the age of twelve. . . .

At the close of this period masculine traits have begun to develop and he should be placed in charge of men teachers, on whose habits and ideals he may mold himself, and have boy associates whom he may emulate. . . .

³² A.M. Hitch, Johnston's right-hand man and new son-in-law, was allowed to buy one hundred shares. Johnston's son, Horace, purchased fifty, as did A.B. Bates, G.T. Irvine, and G.T. Boyce.

Further, it is a marked advantage for him to be removed from the atmosphere of the home and nursery and placed in that of the school. . . .

He must be taught how to use his mind in study and the accurate acquisition of facts. . . . He must be rigidly held to the accomplishment of adequate results; that is, a day's work must be completed in a day's time. . . .

He must constantly practice obedience to law, authority and instruction. It is as unreasonable for the youth at school to be tolerated in disobedience as it is for the apprentice at a trade to refuse or neglect to comply with the instructions and orders of the master mechanic. . . .

He must have a strong, healthy and trained body. Proper food, proper exercise, protection from unhealthful and damaging conditions of every kind must receive constant and skilled attention.

He must be instructed about and guarded against every form of vice. The true educator recognizes this as no small part of his task, and labors earnestly to instruct about and discipline against the evils of lying, gambling, sexual vice, drink, tobacco, etc., striving not only or chiefly to reform, but rather to inspire that inward ideal of repugnance to evil. . . .

There is much more that might be said if there were space, but the foregoing will serve to show what Kemper stands for and tried, with good equipment and experienced officers, to realize in the education of boys. (Kemper Military School, 1914, pp. 9-11).

Indeed, Johnston continued to stress academics, mental discipline, character development, and physical training. Classwork was intended primarily to prepare students for college or attendance at the military or naval academy, although a grammar school was offered for young students and a commercial course was available for high school students without the interest or ability to pursue the preparatory curriculum (Kemper Military School, 1914). Additionally, Johnston initiated a "One Year Course for High School Graduates." This, he insisted, was of "greater profit" than the traditional freshman year, noting that those completing his program achieved "better preparation, [and] greater

maturity before going to college." This post-graduate curriculum included additional classes in physics, chemistry, college algebra, and a foreign language (Kemper Military School, 1918, p. 17).

Regardless of course of study, thoroughness was emphasized. "Realizing that it is the trained mind that wins the prizes of this age, every means is employed to produce trained minds." Classes were designed to "not only impart knowledge, but also to train the mind to intense application and attention." All boys were required to live up to the school motto:

"Every boy gets every lesson every day." If he fails, he makes the lesson up on the day of the failure. This business-like method appeals to all. The indolent and untrained boy may at first think it a bit strenuous, but he soon learns the invaluable lesson that duties are to be performed and performed on time. The really energetic and ambitious boy realizes that it offers him a rare opportunity for advancement, for the idlers do not hold him back. (Kemper Military School, 1914, p. 17)

Small classes and public speaking became hallmarks of Johnston's system, as did mandatory, evening study halls, and weekly current events recitations. A full range of extracurricular activities--athletics, dances, field trips, the orchestra, literary and debating societies, drill and rifle teams, minstrel and glee clubs--thrived. And, students were often assembled to visit the new movie theater in Boonville or to view travelogues and educational films shown at the school by "one of the best motion-picture machines procurable" (Kemper Military School, 1914, p. 87).

Religion retained its important role at Kemper. Although, cadets were no longer required to attend two church services on Sunday--they could skip the evening session to spend time reading in the school library--Sunday Bible classes remained mandatory. Although the Bible

was studied "from the standpoint of history, literature, and morality, and with no intention of impressing the tenets of any particular creed on the minds of the students" (Kemper Military School, 1914, p. 21), religious zeal remained strong and was officially recognized with the establishment of the Cornelian League. This organization was named in honor of St. Cornelius, the Centurion, and dedicated to promoting "the principles and teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ and to advance the interests of His Kingdom and Faith among the men of Kemper Military School." Small insignia, worn on the school uniform identified members (Cornelian League, undated).

Secular moral development was also fused with the academic and military components of the school. Daily, Johnston gave character building pep talks to assembled classes on such varied topics as "The Virtue of Obedience," "Rumors," "Thrift," "The Quitter," "The Whimperer," and "Fidelity in Little Matters." (Johnston, 1947). More emotionally binding was the school's Standard of Honor ceremony when cadets donned their dress uniforms and signed a parchment scroll in a formal candlelit evening ceremony.³³

We, the undersigned members of the Corps of Cadets of Kemper Military School do, freely and without mental reservations, agree to the following: That we will tell the Truth and nothing but the Truth in all official statements to the Faculty and Cadet Officers, noncommissioned officers, and other cadets while on duty. That we will not sanction the dishonorable furnishing, gaining, or using information or breach of pledge. And furthermore, we consider ourselves honor bound to report to the Cadet Courts Martial all violation of these rules. Nor will we have any unofficial communication with any signer of these rules if he is proven by the Cadet Courts Martial to be guilty of a

³³ The Standard of Honor was created by Lieutenant W.J. Fitzmaurice, the P.M.S.&T., in 1915. Fitzmaurice, a graduate of West Point, based the Kemper standard on his old school's honor code.

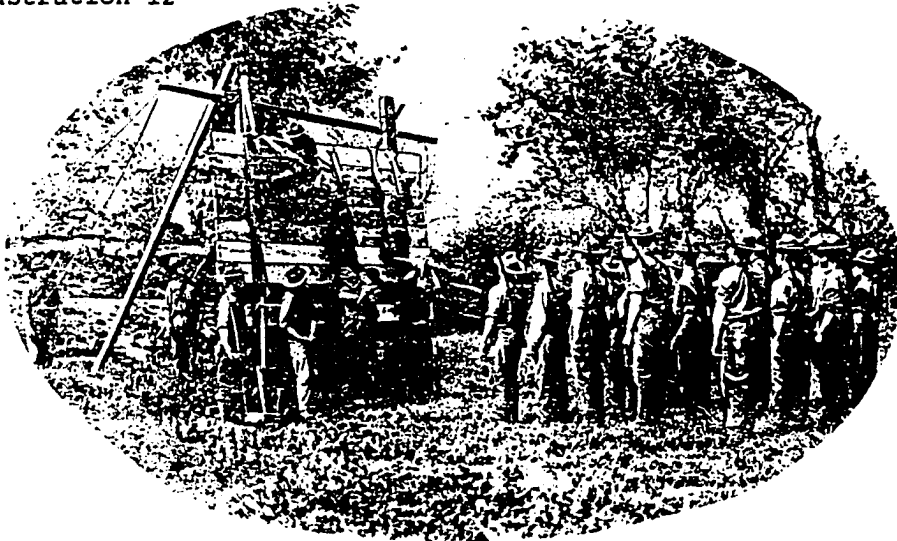
breach of them. Any attempt to violate this Standard of Honor or secure its violation shall be punished as a breach of this standard. (Johnston, 1932)

And, as the incorporation of the Cornelian League and Standard of Honor ceremony suggest, the military nature of the school became even more pervasive and pronounced.

The Cadets are formed into a battalion of three companies and a band, fully officered by appointments from the Cadet body. An hour daily is given to drills, and, further, the full routine of formations, guardmounts, inspections, ceremonies, etc., of a military post is carried out. The Cadet receives careful training in the school of the soldier, squad, company, and battalion, is drilled in the manual of arms and in artillery, and learns the art of signaling. One week during the spring is given to camp life and instruction. Weekly recitation in Tactics and Military Science are required. Additional work is required of Seniors and officers. (Kemper Military School, 1917, 48).

Monday mornings were devoted entirely to military activities--reviews, inspections, and target practice. Uniform requirements reflected this increased emphasis. Expanded field work required khaki fatigues in addition to the cadets' traditional dress coat and trousers.

Illustration 12



Fatigue Uniforms

Kemper obviously took its military training seriously, as further evidenced by its designation by the War Department as one of only ten Honor Schools in 1914 (Hitch, 1932). Thus, when Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1916, the school was ready. Although the prime focus of the act was to provide federal funding of the National Guard in return for the states' agreement to provide their units during national emergencies, the act also created an Organized Reserve Corps for which officers would be trained by a Reserve Officers' Training Corps, or ROTC. The provisions of the bill formalized academic military instruction in colleges and schools that requested ROTC units. Generally, cadets would be trained by commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the U.S. Army stationed at the requesting schools. After completion of four training years and summer field training, graduates were to receive commissions in the Army Reserve. The act, however, was passed late in the congressional session and only a few ROTC detachments formed for the 1916-1917 school year (Lyons & Masland, 1959). Johnston, of course, immediately applied for, and quickly received, authority to form an ROTC unit (Hitch, 1932, p. 22). Kemper's program, however, differed slightly from the norm.

Kemper was one of the first schools in which a senior and a junior infantry unit of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps were established by the War Department. . . . The senior unit is for boys past their sixteenth birthday and the junior for those from fourteen to sixteen. . . .

All cadets after satisfactorily completing two years training may sign a contract with the Secretary of War to take certain additional military training for which they receive commutation of rations amounting to thirty cents a day. . . . They attend two summer camps of four weeks each, all expenses

paid, and after graduation and on reaching the age of 21, receive commissions. . . . (Kemper Military School, 1918, p. 42)

Military training was revised into theoretical and practical components that complied with ROTC standards. Kemper was issued new Krag and Springfield rifles, artillery pieces, and Colt machine guns. Patrolling, engineering, semaphore, and heliograph coding were incorporated in Monday field training and during Spring encampments to prepare cadets for their required summer camp. Classroom study was increased to include work in military hygiene and sanitation, tactics, strategy, military history, and international relations (Kemper Military School, 1918).

Able to offer ROTC commissions to its graduates, Kemper enrollments jumped to nearly three hundred fifty in 1917 with the United States' entry into World War One and skyrocketed to over five hundred the following year.

Table 6.

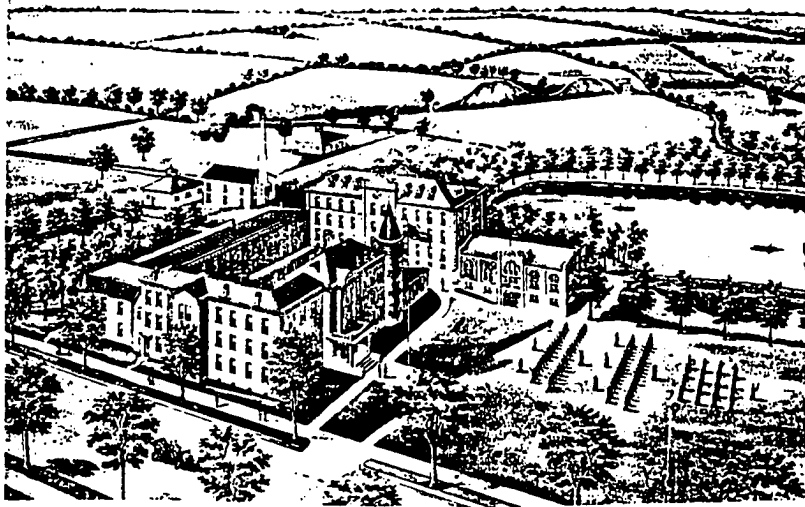
Kemper Enrollments: 1915-1919 (Kemper Military School and College, 1992)

Year	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Enrollment	198	217	341	501	503

To keep pace with this rapid expansion, a power plant was built in 1917 and a massive, new dormitory was quickly erected the following

year. By the close of the war, the future looked especially bright for the school.

Illustration 13



The Kemper Military School in 1918

The Zenith and the Nadir

With the armistice in 1919, Kemper's enrollment fell almost as dramatically as it had risen, and by 1921 the student body consisted of only a few more than three hundred fifty cadets.³⁴ Johnston, of course, was interested in stabilizing enrollment. Additionally, he remained dissatisfied with Kemper's college preparatory program. Certainly, Johnston saw the formalization of the "post-graduate" program--which, no doubt, had its roots in his nostalgic recollection of the extra year he spent under the tutelage of Frederick Kemper--as a step in the right direction. Yet, Johnston wanted to do more to ensure both his school's and his cadets' success.

³⁴ As has been true following most wars, the American public wanted little to do with things military following World War One. Peace movements--some legitimate and some fronts for communist, anarchist, or fascist organizations--flourished. Seeing these movements as threats, the Cornelian League shifted its focus from a religious organization.

Whereas, it has come to our notice that certain forces are abroad in the educational institutions in our land spreading a propaganda designed to weaken or embarrass the military power of the United States, under the guise of the Leagues to Prevent War, Societies for World Peace, Church Movements for Arbitration, Mothers Movements, etc, and

Whereas, these movements are practically designed with the subtle and sinister intent to abolish Naval and Military power and discourage martial training by preaching among other things an alleged international brotherhood and an alleged unchristian character in military training, . . . it is hereby

Resolved, that we will at all times bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America [and] serve them honestly and faithfully

We also promise and resolve that we will by every means in our power combat the spread or teaching of any propaganda designed directly or indirectly to weaken the military power of the United States. . . . (Cornelian League, 1924).

The college preparatory system as provided for in high schools qualifies the student for college entrance. The average student can complete this requirement in four years, at the age of 18 or younger. Such a student entering a college or university is likely to be unprepared to meet conditions of word and grade he undertakes. A study made in 1920 of the freshman classes in 40 state universities and 30 colleges in 30 different states revealed that the average freshman class numbered 1492, the average sophomore class of 1921 in the same institutions 503, the average number of graduates after four years 188. This indicates that the freshmen who entered in 1920 were inadequately prepared, and the percentage of consequent loss entirely too great.

These facts indicate that a better preparation for college is needed, and this has led to the development of the junior college, an institution which provides education covering the freshman and sophomore years of college under better conditions for success; viz., smaller classes, educational methods more like those of high school than of university. It secures for the youth two years more of preparation for higher education and two years more of maturity. . . . It enables parents to send their children too young or poorly prepared to an institution better fitted to serve them. (Johnston, 1932)

So, in the winter of 1923, Johnston sent Major Hitch to attend the junior college conference at the National Education Association's annual conclave. Johnston and Hitch had been fairly sure that Kemper should incorporate junior college work before the convention; after it, they were convinced. Not only, they were certain, would incorporating junior college work improve the future for Kemper's students, it would guarantee the future of the school as well.

At Cleveland, Major Hitch attended the Department of Junior Colleges of the N.E.A. He is now firmly convinced that Kemper is on the right track by adding Junior College work. The leading educators of today think that the Junior College is the next move in educational reorganization. In the past ten years the Junior High School has developed so rapidly that it now affects more than fifty percent of the high schools in the middle west. The Junior Colleges will probably show as great a growth in the next ten years. (Kemper News, 1923a, p. 1)

Several months later, Hitch outlined the basics of Kemper's transition, noting that the school was "not jumping into the thing

wildly." Although Kemper would drop its primary program, it would continue to offer high school work. Boys would be admitted as college freshmen if they had completed thirteen required high school credits. Kemper cadets, once they received a diploma at the end of their senior year, could enroll and transfer any credits--in excess of the thirteen required for high school graduation--as junior college work. Coordination with the North Central Association was finalized to ensure there was "no question as to the approval of the work" when the "authorized inspectors" visited the following term. New college courses were developed in English, mathematics, French, chemistry, history, commerce, Spanish, and biology (Kemper News, 1923b). If entering college freshmen knew what their eventual collegiate focus was to be, they could enroll in one of several specific pre-professional courses of study Johnston and Hitch had designed to prepare students for advanced work in engineering, medicine, and commerce (Kemper Military School, 1925).

Table 7.

Junior College Major Requirements: 1925

Pre-engineering	Pre-medicine	Business
English Comp (6 hrs)	English Comp (6 hrs)	English Comp (6 hrs)
Foreign Lang (10 hrs)	Foreign Lang (10 hrs)	Foreign Lang (10 hrs)
Chemistry (8 hrs)	Chemistry (8 hrs)	Economics (4 hrs)
Physics (8 hrs)	Physics (8 hrs)	Economic Hist (4 hrs)
Mathematics (16 hrs)	Biology (8 hrs)	Mathematics (8 hrs)
Surveying (3 hrs)	Electives (24 hrs)	Government (4 hrs)
Drawing (1 hr)		Electives (28 hrs)
Electives (12 hrs)		

Majoring in one of these pre-professional programs was not, however, required, and even students who chose to do so needed to enroll in mandatory composition and foreign language classes and complete a well-rounded course of liberal study that included:

six semester hours in English, five in history, . . . three in mathematics, five in physical science, five in biological science, and enough electives to make a total of [at least] sixty. (Kemper Military School, 1924, p. 25)

Thus, Kemper Military School entered the junior college field in the fall of 1924 and awarded its first thirteen associates degrees the next spring.

Illustration 14



JUNIOR COLLEGE GRADUATES

Top Row—R. W. Aust; C. C. Chambers; H. L. Dalton; J. R. Goff.
Second Row—G. R. Ireton; W. A. Johnston; G. S. Knapp; G. S. Link; J. P. Parkinson.
Third Row—C. M. Smith; O. J. Swift; T. J. Taylor, Jr.; E. A. Thomann, Jr.

The First Junior College Graduates

The addition of older students and college academics suggested that the military component of a Kemper education be revised as well. Junior college cadets would receive advanced training in "machine guns, automatic weapons, field engineering, . . . minor tactics, leadership, musketry and administration." No longer would cadets be assigned to units by age. Each of the four companies would have a mix of high school and junior college students. Intramural athletic teams were restructured along company lines in an effort to enhance esprit within the corps (Kemper News, 1923b), and a new field house--complete with a state-of-art indoor swimming pool, three full-size basketball courts, and an enviable array of gymnastic equipment--was built to provide ample room for competition (Kemper Military School, 1925).

Illustration 15



Kemper Gymnasium

With the opening of the Junior College, enrollment stabilized as many high school graduates remained at Kemper to receive associates degrees. Enrollment hovered between three hundred fifty and four hundred thirty students for the rest of the decade. Satisfied with the academic enhancement of the Junior College, convinced of Kemper's continued stability, and concerned about his health, Johnston relinquished the position of Superintendent to his son-in-law, A.M. Hitch, in 1928. Almost within the year, Kemper's enrollment dipped in response to the stock market crash of 1929 and plummeted over the next three years as many parents found themselves unable to afford private school tuition in the depths of the depression.³⁵ Yet, the school hung on. Johnston, however, did not.

A shadow has been cast over the campus; our flag is at half-mast, a man has passed from our midst who for sixty-two years has served Kemper as a guide, counsellor, and friend. . . .

Hundreds of lives are richer, fuller, and of more value to those about them because they knew Colonel Johnston. What a legacy to leave to the future to be passed on again and again as far as Kemper influence shall reach!

As long as Kemper endures, as each class follows its predecessor through the course that leads to graduation, as successive corps of cadets listen to retreat on the parade ground,

³⁵ Attending Kemper was fairly costly during the depression years, as semester fees could easily approach seven hundred dollars (Kemper Military School, 1933).

Tuition	\$425	
Books and incidentals	50	
Uniforms	125	
Laboratory fees	10	
Music lessons	50	
Instrument rental	10	
Dancing lessons	10	
Typewriter rental	10	
<u>Kemper News</u> subscription	<u>3</u>	
	\$693	Total semester cost

the spirit of Colonel Johnston will remain to point the way for the boys of Kemper whom he so dearly loved. (Kemper News, 1934, p. 1).

With Johnston's death, Hitch was elected as the new president of the board and quickly established "four cornerstones" upon which he hoped to build Kemper's future: scholarship, character, religion, and discipline. Lest any of the board members or faculty had missed the past decade of curricular changes--or had hoped for a return to the old days--Hitch made it clear that, academically, Kemper would "keep abreast of the current needs of the students." Further, students would no longer receive wholesale moral preaching, as Johnston so much enjoyed. Instead, Hitch proposed to develop leadership and character through extracurricular activities and routine emphasis upon "right ideas and right living." In terms of religion, Hitch insisted that individual cadet preferences be protected. His goal was "to send young men out from Kemper with a better set of ideals, with a better appreciation of spiritual values, with a better feeling towards humanity, with a better sense of their own place in the universe than when they came" (Hitch, 1934).

But, it was in the area of discipline that Hitch was most adamant, finding himself in "disagreement with the founder." The last vestiges of blind and grudging obedience would be eliminated. Instead, obedience would be freely given by students to senior cadets, faculty, and staff who inspired confidence in their charges. Arbitrary rules and regulations were to be eliminated and punishment by the faculty kept to the absolute minimum. Also, the "Old Boy" system would receive special attention.

I believe there should be a distinction between old boys and new. Here is one of the most vexing problems of school administration, vexing because all old boys are called on to exercise some degree of authority and it is inevitable that in the number will be found some with no judgment and no conception of the purpose of the distinction, and some with even brutal instincts. This group has caused so much criticism that the old style of hazing has fallen into disrepute and is definitely out or on the way out everywhere. The distinction between old and new should be a dignified distinction, one based on merit. . . . It does not take a strap to keep a new boy from being fresh or disobeying the rules or traditions of the school. If it does I shall relieve the corps of the responsibility by dismissal. (Hitch, 1934)

The Honor System--which Hitch believed to be the school's most "prized possession" and "most potent influence"--and cadet courts-martial received new emphasis as an alternative to barracks justice (Hitch, 1934). Cadets found guilty of lying or using "crib notes" by their peers had their signatures publicly stricken from the Standard of Honor. Those, guilty of more grievous offenses--attending class "under the influence of alcohol" or jointly "consorting with a girl of ill repute to the discredit and dishonor of the school"--were "dishonorably dismissed." But, true to Hitch's commitment to discounting trivial and arbitrary rules, a cadet found guilty of "displaying great hostility to military discipline . . . during a manners test" could expect to receive no more than a handful of "erasable demerits" (Kemper Military School, 1936-1938).

Just as Kemper's enrollment had fallen with the fortunes of the nation during the depression, so did its enrollment rise as preparations for war pulled the country from its economic slump during the late 1930s. 1940 found nearly four hundred fifty cadets in residence. By then, Hitch had, indeed, completed strengthening the school through the incorporation of his four cornerstones, and Kemper was recognized as

both a solid preparatory school and junior college (Eells, 1940).

Polishing Johnston's parental approach, Hitch offered this appeal in his catalog for 1941.

In connection with the rearing of your son you are, no doubt, confronted with numerous and perplexing problems. You have for him ideals of learning, culture, character, and manhood that he seems more or less likely to attain. His personality is mysterious; you find yourself lacking in the power to understand him, and, especially, in the time needed to devote to the solution of the problems that he presents.

Many of the problems that beset you and your boy are beyond your control. . . . [The] schools are woefully crowded, and classes are so large that boys who need personal attention receive little or none, lose interest in their work, and drop out or fail. Many boys, on graduating from high school and going to a large university, receive little or no personal attention from the faculty, have little opportunity to participate in activities unless they are of outstanding merit, become lost in the crowd or are carried away with distractions, lose interest in their work, and drop out with very little profit from their university experience. . . .

Furthermore, modern conditions have handicapped the boy with idleness. The present-day father grew up busy with chores or helping his father. The present-day boy has no chores, and business is so specialized that few fathers can find a place in their business for their sons. The result is disastrous for the boy. He frequently has most of the afternoon and the evening with nothing to do but amuse himself. His companions of both sexes are as idle as he, and a condition results that is profitless, harmful and always potentially dangerous. Idleness does not make muscular or moral fiber, or furnish visions and ideals or prepare a boy for man's estate. (Kemper Military School, 1941, p. 3)

Kemper, of course, "stood ready to offer itself" as a remedy. As it had since its founding, not only did the school promise to provide students "the education and training necessary to complete their preparation for college, university, or business life," but at the same time to apply "expert methods . . . to character building and the formation of the habits and attitudes of the efficient man, especially striving to create an environment that develops the best in the boy, and

suppresses that which is harmful." Much of this was accomplished via extracurricular activities including: "athletics, military, forensics, dramatics, music, journalism, class, and social organizations." The development of individual talents and civic responsibility was encouraged. (Kemper Military School. 1941, pp. 4 and 41).

To one of Kemper's greatest assets, (or perhaps one of her greatest liabilities)

To one of the school's greatest successes, (or perhaps her greatest failure)

To your own best friend, (or perhaps your worst enemy)

TO YOU this book is dedicated. . . .

In entering Kemper you will face new problems, new interests and diversions. Do not let them overwhelm you. . . .

What will you make of yourself? The answer is: Just what you want to make. Right now when you are entering into a new life when the past is behind you start driving for some goal. Give the best that is in you to everything at Kemper. Study hard, play hard, that the answer may be what you want it to be. . . .

Learn the Kemper motto, "Nunquam non paratus," always ready. (Kemper Military School, 1946, pp. 1-4).

Illustration 16



The Kemper Crest

Cadets who failed to come to class prepared were provided with special "scholastic opportunity sessions." "At Kemper every boy should get every lesson every day. If for any reason he fails to meet the teacher's requirements in class, he is given the opportunity to make up the work missed" in the Dean's classroom between 5:25 and 6:15 each afternoon (Kemper Military School, 1946, p. 18). Staying an hour after school anywhere is bad enough, but at Kemper, an hour of free time was especially valuable. Cadets simply had very little time to themselves.

Idleness was impossible at Kemper. The school week ran from Tuesday through Saturday--Monday remained reserved for military training--and the cadets' daily regimen became fuller than ever before .

The following schedule gives an idea of the nature of a regular school day at Kemper. The hours vary a trifle with the various seasons (Kemper Military School, 1941, p. 45):

First Call	6:30 a.m.
Mess (Breakfast)	6:45 a.m.
School	7:55 a.m. to 12:45 p.m.
Mess (Dinner)	12:45 p.m.
General Assembly [and Office Hour] . . .	following Mess
Drill Hour	2:05 p.m. to 3:05 p.m.
Athletic Hour	3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.
Quiet Hour	5:25 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.
Retreat Formation	6:30 p.m.
Mess (Supper) immediately after Retreat	
Vespers	7:00 p.m.
Study	7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.
Call to Quarters	9:50 p.m.
Taps	10:00 p.m.
Library Privileges Until	10:30 p.m.

Recognizing that parents were just as worried about academic deficiencies as they were about lack of discipline, Hitch stressed that Kemper incorporated a range of guidance programs designed to identify student problems, "understand individual differences, and study

difficulties." Individual needs were met during nightly supervised study halls, with small classes, and, if appropriate, by remedial reading, speech, and study habit courses (Kemper Military School. 1941).

Clearly, Hitch was appealing to parents who were both concerned about the future of their potentially wayward sons and able to afford the Kemper method. Without doubt, his approach was successful, and when boosted by the patriotic fervor of World War II, Kemper enrollment shot up once more to six hundred cadets and remained robust throughout the first years of the next decade. These were the high-watermark years for Kemper; times of satisfied parents, motivated cadets, enthusiastic teachers, thriving enrollments, a modern campus, a firm financial base, a diverse and exciting extracurriculum, a solid philosophy, and a clear mission.

Illustration 17



Homecoming Ball, 1954

But, this golden age was short-lived. Just as enrollment plummeted with the public's disenchantment of things military after World War One, so it did in the aftermath of World War Two and the nation's subsequent attempt to contain Communist expansion in Korea. Hitch, although remaining on as President of the Board, retired in 1949 and was replaced as Superintendent by Harris Johnston, T.A. Johnston's son and one of the last of Kemper's original trustees. In fact, all that remained of the original board in 1950 were Hitch, Harris Johnston, and A.B. Bates, and all three were very concerned about future of their "for profit" school.

The report I gave you last year showed we had paid a 50% dividend each year from 1936 to 1949 inclusive. However, to show you how the situation changes, we had a net profit in 1948 of \$63,111 and paid \$56,200 in dividends leaving \$6911 in the undivided profit account. In 1949 we still paid \$56,200 in dividends but only had a net profit of \$30,384. So \$25,816 of the dividend had to be paid out of profits in prior years. In 1950 we reduced the dividends and only paid \$40,464, but all of that was paid out of profits from former years as we had a net loss for the year of 1950 of \$178.63.

Naturally, when you are not making what you pay in dividends, the book value of your stock decreases. The book value at the end of 1948 was \$617 per share. At the end of 1949 it was \$595 per share and at the end of 1950 \$448 per share. So in two years the book value of each share of stock has decreased \$59. (Bates, 1951)

Bates--the corporation's long-time secretary and treasurer--was especially concerned about the falling enrollment, noting that although the expenses for the first two months of 1951 were \$6,000 less than the previous year, falling enrollment had decreased income by nearly \$25,000.³⁶ The rest of the board, especially its younger members,

³⁶ Although Kemper attempted to compensate for falling enrollment by increasing its annual tuition and fees to almost \$1800 (Kemper Military School, 1955), it found demand to be elastic and simply could

having become increasingly impatient and anxious with the fluctuating enrollment, were interested in re-organizing the school on a non-profit basis by issuing fifteen year bonds worth the book value of the school. This, they noted, would also help ensure continued North Central Association accreditation as the few remaining "for profit" private schools seemed to undergo more rigorous evaluations. Bates, however, was against the attempt, and as such move required a 75% approval, his nearly 30% of the shares were enough to stop any attempt to liquidate the corporation.

The sound value (if you don't already know) is what it would cost any particular year to reproduce the buildings less a reasonable depreciation. Now the book value is \$530 per share and the present sound value is about \$1800 per share. . . .

If I should sell my interest in Kemper Military School for \$500 per share, as proposed, I would have an income tax, federal and state of \$21,625 to pay, which would leave me only \$128,375 with no financial interest in the new organization, after making a donation of \$411,625, which is the difference between the present sound value of my interest in Kemper Military School and what I would receive for it, net. I prefer to continue being a shareholder in the present corporation rather than deprive my wife, children and grandchildren what is rightly and legally theirs when I am through with it.

If the re-organization plan should pass (I don't see how it can) we would have . . . [a] deplorable situation the first year, and when it would end no one knows. . . . Year after year there would be a default on paying principal. The notes received by shareholders would not be worth much.

How can you, as proposed, pay additional salaries, have a tenure policy and a retirement plan? All this will take money. Where is it coming from? . . .

If you want Kemper Military School to continue in operation, as planned by Colonel T.A. Johnston, the present corporation will come more nearly being a success than the proposed plan of re-organization. If we do not get more students than we have now the new set up would fail much sooner than the present one. If we can

not make up the difference.

get the students under the proposed plan there is no reason we cannot get them under the present organization. (Bates, 1953)

So, Kemper remained a "for profit" school until 1956 after the deaths of Bates and Hitch. At that time the remaining board members decided to expand the board from five to nine members. Of the six new members two--Charles J. Hitch and Bates's son-in-law--were appointed to represent their families interests. Quickly, these new stockholders convened and voted to convert Kemper to a non-profit institution (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1956). And, in April, 1957, when the official conversion took place, the board also announced the interim appointment of Major General Joseph P. Cleland, one of the new board members and a former Kemper cadet, to replace Harris Johnston as Superintendent while the school restructured its administrative organization and scrambled to regain its fiscal footing (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1957). Instead of sucking dividends out of Kemper, the new board would begin "plowing back more funds into improvements and increased salaries for teachers and [staff]." Further, the board affirmed its commitment to increasing enrollment as the solution to Kemper's fiscal woes, but not at any price.

In outlining some of the plans and policies adopted by the [new] administration and board, Maj. Gen. Cleland reports that more emphasis on entrance requirements and a greater degree of selectivity of students will go into effect to reduce academic and disciplinary problems and "promote an over-all healthier school situation." (Kemperite, September, 1957, p. 1)

Cleland also began to organize a network of "old boys" as a potential source of funding.

To the Old Boys--From an Old Boy. An ex-Kemper cadet, an ex-Kemper PMS&T, and a Kemper superintendent and president, all in one, speaks to you from three different points of view and says that from whatever angle you view it, the backbone of any school

is its alumni and for Kemper it is its "Association of Old Boys." (Cleland, 1957, p. 1)

By the time Cleland announced his retirement, Kemper's enrollment had rebounded to over four hundred cadets. So confident was the board that this trend would continue, it hired a St. Louis firm to prepare a long-range plan for the school. Suggesting that Kemper's most significant stumbling block to increasing its enrollment to seven hundred cadets--a student body size the firm believed Kemper would be more than able to attract--was the school's inadequate and aging physical plant, the planners recommended razing several buildings, relocating others, and constructing a new academic building, dormitory, chapel, dining hall, and service building (Harold Bartholomew and Associates, 1960).

Cleland was also successful in loosening the purse strings of some Old Boys, and alumni money had begun to trickle into the school's coffers.

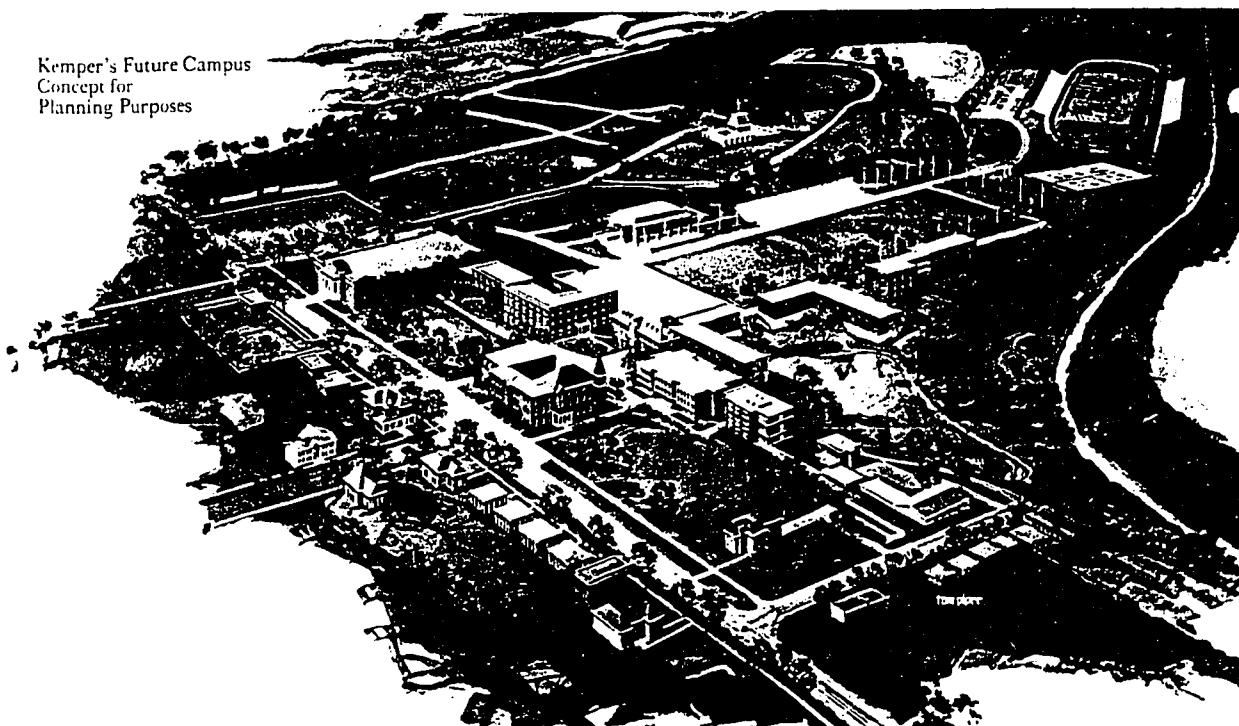
Mr. Chairman, I am retiring as President and Superintendent of The Kemper School June 15, 1959, because I feel I have completed the work I had planned to do for my old alma mater, Kemper Military School. Basically this was that work required by the change-over of Kemper Military School from a privately owned school to an independent, not-for-profit institution. . . . This included a re-organization, and the installation of a modern financial and administrative system, plus the organization of the Kemper Military School Alumni Association which is paramount for the success of any non-profit organization. (Kemperite, 1959a, p.1).

To replace Major General Cleland, the board selected the Reverend Samuel West, another Old Boy. West, however, was no stranger to private school administration, having served as the assistant headmaster and chaplain at Kent School in Connecticut since 1949. Certainly, the board felt it had chosen a winner, someone capable of expanding Cleland's

efforts to increase both alumni support and the student body (Kemperite, 1959b, p.1). Unfortunately, for West, some of his very first actions as Superintendent began to irritate the board. In an attempt to create a prep school aura, he returned the faculty to civilian clothes for the first time in nearly sixty years and insisted they be referred to as "Master" instead of by military rank. Even worse, for West, he announced a refocusing of Kemper as primarily a "Christian school," began to reduce the school's military emphasis, and tightened the school's admissions policy even more than had Cleland (The Kemperite, 1959a, 1959b). Perhaps the board might have looked the other way if West's attempts increased enrollment, but, alas, they had the opposite effect. Enrollment plummeted once more, dropping well below four hundred twenty-five to less than three hundred fifty students. When West departed Kemper the following year, the Academic Dean, F.J. Marston filled in as an interim Superintendent until Colonel James P. Kelly--another retired officer and Kemper Old Boy--assumed the role for the 1964-1965 school year.

With West's departure, the school reverted to its military structure and enrollment increased almost immediately--reaching nearly five hundred fifty by 1966. Optimism reigned as trustees projected future enrollment to reach between seven hundred and one thousand cadets by the end of the decade (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1965; 1966), and the board dusted off the Bartholomew development plan, which it now renamed Kemper 70.

Illustration 18



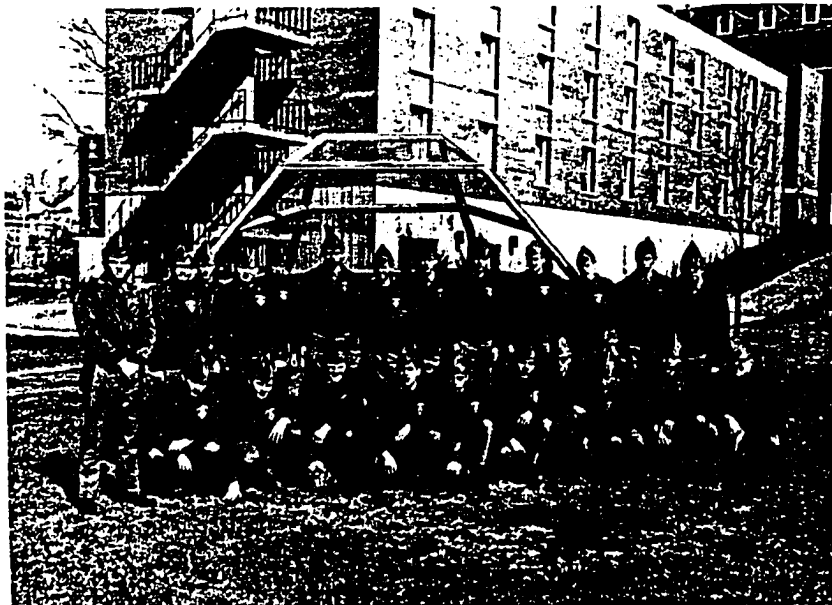
The Kemper 70 Plan

A new three story cadet center was planned, that, in addition to student recreation and club facilities, would provide a new dining hall able to seat twelve hundred and a new auditorium with a capacity of fifteen hundred. New barracks would be raised, while old barracks would be rehabilitated and modernized. The field house and library would receive renovation, and extensive landscaping would beautify the school grounds. New concrete bleachers would be added to the football stadium, and grass greens would be installed on the golf course. A school chapel would be built, and the administration building was to be enlarged to

include a Kemper Hall of Fame and Historical Museum (Kemper Military School, 1965)

Convinced that alumni contributions and student tuition would continue to increase, the board obtained a bank loan to fund the construction of a new, two hundred bed dormitory.

Illustration 19



The New Barracks

Unfortunately, alumni contributions fell far short of what the board had hoped, the expenses associated with a century old physical plant continued to increase, and as images of the war in Vietnam flashed

across American television screens, parents and students alike began to have second thoughts about military schools. In fact, 1966 was the last time Kemper's barracks would ever house five hundred fifty cadets. Enrollment plunged to four hundred students by 1969 and to less than three hundred the following year.³⁷

Additionally, the students that were attending Kemper had changed. Kelly--who had announced his intention to retire--reported in his last address to the board of directors:

We are experiencing a panorama of rapid and deeply rooted changes, not only in the thinking, but in the actions and philosophy of young people, and in many instances of the parents of these young people. Kemper must not lose sight of these changes. On the other hand, Kemper does not need to change just for the sake of changing. There is an old proverb which says, "Be not the first by whom the new is tried, nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

This has not been one of our best years, but I do not consider it a complete "bust." I believe we have experienced more unrest among the cadets, particularly the college group, than in previous years. Some of this, I am sure, is due to the national, yes, even world-wide militancy of certain young people. Our case was further amplified by some poor choices in our cadet leadership and disloyalty to the system among certain of our faculty. Nevertheless, the Board should take a telescopic view of Kemper's future and make policy determinations. Many details of an immediate nature are administrative problems. . . .

Cadets are beginning to request a relaxation in the rules governing drinking. . . . They are requesting a relaxation in the rules governing riding in, owning, and operating automobiles while at Kemper, the wearing of civilian clothes, pass permit privileges, and a myriad of other things which I consider more or less trivia. The use of dope is a constant worry. Many new faculty members are ineffective as control agents and sometimes even in the class room. Many of the young faculty have never been

³⁷ It was during this period that black cadets were first admitted to Kemper. Townspeople suggest that this showed just how deep in fiscal trouble Kemper must have been, for the school had always been rather "Southern" in character. In fact, local legend has it the decision was so surprising that when it was made T.A. Johnston--a staunch secessionist who as a teenager had fought with the South--"sat bolt upright in his grave." (Shields, 1992)

exposed to military service. Off campus adherence to rules and regulations is becoming almost impossible to enforce. On-campus enforcement is narrowing to the hands of a few. The "in barracks faculty" help, as most of you Old Boys knew it, is practically non-existent.

Kemper will be forced to larger classes and less faculty and other employees unless outside help can be found. All salaries have been upgraded, but still not enough. . . . (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1969b)

The board, although completely surprised by these changes in attitudes as well as in fortunes, realized that Kemper was in trouble. Significant money was still owed on the bonds issued during Kemper's reorganization as a non-profit school as well as for construction of the new barracks. Donald R. Schaumburg, a trustee and financial advisor to the school, reported to his fellow board members:

Looking toward June 30, 1969, we can say that the school will remain solvent. . . . [Yet,] the hard facts are that the School is in a precarious financial condition. There has been a continuing increase in fixed expenses, in personnel, and in salary rates. At the same time, enrollment has not been maintained and many basic rules of sound fiscal control have not been enforced. (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1969a)

And, the following year he notified his colleagues that

Kemper is confronted with a \$400,000 minimum cash flow deficit this year. . . . [Unless] there is a liquidation of property holdings, a large endowment, or some drastic change in the structure of Kemper's program, it is difficult to see how the school could open in September, 1971, without jeopardizing the security upon which the creditors are relying. (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1970)

When the board selected Dr. Joseph B. Black, another retired Army officer and Kemper Old Boy, to succeed Kelly, no doubt it was influenced by Black's previous position as Dean of Business Administration at Wright State University and hoped that his academic and professional experience could help in "adopting and enforcing administrative fiscal

and academic policies which will reverse the current trends" (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1969a).

One initiative, Black resurrected, was to once more attempt to convince local businessmen and Kemper Old Boys--most of whom were well aware and somewhat resentful that Johnston, Hitch, Bates, and their families had lived off the school for many a year (Shields, 1992; Smith, 1992)--to contribute to the school. Alumnus, George S. Lindsay, better known to many as Andy Taylor's Mayberry friend, Goober, returned to host a fund-raising dinner targeting the local community, and Dr. Black sent handsome brochures to Old Boys urging their support.

In a very real sense KEMPER is at a crossroads.

Like many private schools we are sustaining a very lean period. But, unlike most private schools KEMPER has been operating without benefit of an endowment.

It is tragic but true that a great majority of KEMPER "Old Boys" do not realize that we are no longer a privately owned school.

Since 1957, KEMPER has been a private, not-for-profit institution and as such is not owned by anyone except in the sense that our trustees have legal title to the plant in trust for the benefit of all who have passed through KEMPER'S doors and for all the future generations who enter.

We now desperately need your help for survival. Please read carefully the pages of this brochure and help us continue to pursue the objectives of KEMPER . . . "TO BUILD MEN." (Kemper Military School and College, 1970)

Illustration 20

EMERGENCY PLEDGE CARD

Dear COL Black;

Kemper must not close! I am willing to pledge \$10,000, \$5,000, \$1,000, or \$_____. I understand that unless a full \$225,000 is pledged that I will sustain no obligation. I understand that this gift to the school is fully tax deductible. The funds, if needed, will be available _____.

date

Signed: _____

Address: _____

_____ Zip

Emergency Pledge Card

Yet, there was little Black could do to prevent enrollments from continuing to plunge and costs from continuing to increase. In a desperate effort to save the school, he convinced the board to once more admit seventh and eighth grade students (Kemperite, 1970) and insisted "the immediate solution must be to raise \$95,000 or more from gift sources, make substantial increases in enrollment, and balance the cash flow deficit," recommending that salaries be deferred--at eight percent interest--until enrollment once more rose to three hundred students.

Black offered to defer fifty percent of his salary. Those earning more than ten thousand dollars would find twenty-five percent of their pay deferred; between eight and ten thousand dollars, fifteen percent; less than eight thousand dollars, ten percent (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1971).

In conjunction, the school's dean, Bernard Hartman, added that the board could not very well save money by reducing the curriculum, noting that it would be impossible to have an attractive college offering if courses were pared to fewer than the sixty-seven listed in the catalog. Even if, he pointed out, students could be attracted, the possibility of continued accreditation would be jeopardized. To increase revenue, Hartman recommended the school accept local day students--both male and female--into its junior college program. Despite long-standing doubts about admitting non-boarders, the board resolved to implement both Black's and Hartman's recommendations, although it drew the line at allowing day students participate as members of the cadet corps (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1971). Yet, even these measures were not enough to improve finances, and during the next school year, Kemper was only able to continue operations after three local banks agreed to fund substantial loans. In 1973, when only one hundred sixty eight students enrolled at the school, Black resigned in frustration and Colonel Carrol Meek, the school's P.M.S.&T., agreed to step in and run the school until a new Superintendent could be hired. When Meek was reassigned by the Army during the next semester, Kemper once more found itself with neither money or leadership. Completely demoralized, many trustees were ready to shut the school down (Dyer, 1984?).

Renewal

Despite the apparent hopelessness of Kemper's situation, one Old Boy refused to give up. Wilbur Windsor, Jr.,³⁸ convincingly urged the board to make one more attempt. Windsor volunteered to serve as both Chairman and Superintendent and asked those members with no ties to the community to resign, reconstituting the board entirely with locals. Amazingly, Windsor and his newly reorganized board raised "over \$100,000 . . . in just a few days, enough to finish out the current school year and open the next school year with a much reduced budget" (Dyer, 1984?).

The following year, annual student tuition and fees were increased to well over \$3,000 (Kemper Military School and College, 1975), and severe cost containment measures were imposed. Extracurricular activities--especially athletics--were virtually eliminated and all physical plant maintenance was halted. Many faculty and staff members were released. In 1970, there had been twenty-nine faculty members: eleven full-time high-school teachers, three full-time junior college instructors, and thirteen full-timers that taught both high school and junior college classes. In 1975, there were only ten full-time instructors, eight of whom taught mixed schedules of primary, high school, and junior college courses (Kemper Military School and College, 1992). But, Kemper made it through the year. More importantly, the school was able to preserve its military department and ROTC program.

³⁸ Wilbur C. Windsor, Jr. attended Kemper, between 1936 and 1939, following in the footsteps of his father, grandfather, and great grandfather. Windsor's father had served as the cadet corps commander in 1910 and became the first board chairman of the non-profit corporation in 1957. His great, great grandfather was one of the Boonville businessmen who provided Frederick Kemper his first financial assistance (Kemper Military School, undated)

Although much reduced in size, Kemper continued its string of over seventy consecutive annual designations as an Army Honor School.

When retired Major General William R. Blakefield became Superintendent in 1976, he inherited all of Kemper's problems: a small student body, a disintegrating physical plant,³⁹ a lack of endowment, and a myriad of large scale debts including reorganization bonds, construction loans, and deferred salaries. If these problems were not enough, the Army announced that although it would require an increasing number of Second Lieutenants over the next decade, beginning with the next school year, no ROTC graduates would be allowed to enter active duty unless they had earned a bachelors degree. At Kemper, this announcement produced a mixed reaction. While fearful that the attractiveness of its junior college ROTC program would be reduced if graduates were required to complete their final two years of school elsewhere before entering the service, the board took heart in the Army's projections of increased officer requirements. Blakefield and the board began to consider converting Kemper's junior college curriculum into a four year program (Kemper Military School Corporation,

³⁹ When the board met in November, 1976, Windsor noted that school property, especially the "Kemper apartments," was deteriorating badly. The apartments had been used rent-free for years by some of the staff and faculty. Apparently a roof had recently fallen in on one teacher during a storm. Although the instructor was not injured and the roof had been propped up, Windsor reported it would "cost thousands of dollars" just to repair that one set of quarters. After lengthy discussions about whether or not to charge residents rent, General Blakefield brought the issue to a halt with a curt declaration that he had enough to worry about without becoming a landlord. The board then decided to sell the real estate--its market value was at least \$95,000--and let the residents fend for themselves. Windsor, inspired by the board's willingness to sell the land, followed up by convincing his associates to "get rid of 132 years of property" in a "gigantic yard sale" (Kemper Military School Corporation, 1976).

1976). To do so, of course, would require additional money, but the school had already set its long-term sights on raising an endowment of over six million dollars (Kemper Military School, 1965).

So, with just a slight shift in focus, after alumnus, Hugh Krampe--better known as Hugh O'Brian, television's Wyatt Earp--warmed up the Old Boys at a 1977 fund-raising kick-off dinner, Chairman Windsor told the assembled diners that half of all money raised would be earmarked for debt retirement and campus renovation, while half would be used to expand the junior college facilities until they were able to support four-year programs. Although the plan never got off the ground, as the Army announced it was temporarily deferring its baccalaureate requirement, Windsor's development effort paid big dividends when R. Crosby Kemper, of Kansas City, agreed to back not only much of the school's long-term bond indebtedness, but a major campus renovation as well. So, when Blakefield resigned in 1980, his replacement, Brigadier General Loyd P. Rhiddlehoover, Jr., inherited enough financial breathing room to allow the school to once more offer a range of extracurricular activities, purchase new materials for the library, and hire additional faculty and staff (Dyer, 1984?).

Still, Rhiddlehoover was well aware of the school's precarious status.

In order to accomplish the basic missions of Kemper, I have established the immediate goal of improving the cadets' QUALITY OF LIFE AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION. This means that we must establish a sound financial management program, dynamically recruit across the country to increase our enrollment and initiate an organized and continuing fund-raising campaign. . . .

The first order of business . . . is to develop a budget for balancing institutional operating cost and the revenues we receive from enrollment. By achieving a balanced budget, we will be in a

position to finance capital improvement projects from money raised in our fund-raising campaign. At the same time we are aiming to increase enrollment at the rate of 15% per year with a commensurate improvement in our academic faculty. . . [and raise] a total of \$1 million. (Kemperite, 1980)

Although Rhiddlehoover was unable to meet his projected enrollment goals, by 1982 over two hundred fifty students were once more attending Kemper even though annual tuition and fees had been increased to almost \$7,500 (Kemper Military School and College, 1982). More importantly, a newly hired comptroller improved the school's budgeting, purchasing, accounting, and inventory control systems resulting in immediate cost savings. Better still, Rhiddlehoover and Windsor found their development efforts more successful than they had hoped, raising more than \$600,000 in just two years. And, by the time Rhiddlehoover retired in 1983, Kemper had paid off the three Boonville banks whose loans had kept the school open in the early 1970s (Dyer, 1984?).

Unfortunately, the school remained so burdened by other extensive long-term debt--primarily to the Department of Education--that the North Central Association considered denying accreditation, insisting that "a satisfactory solution" to the problem was "imperative." Clearly, the association noted, the turmoil caused by Kemper's precarious fiscal status was affecting all aspects of school operation: academic programs, library support, building maintenance, employee salaries, and fringe benefits. Low salaries, non-existent fringe benefits, and lack of a professional development program made faculty retention and recruitment nearly impossible. As a result, few instructors had more than baccalaureate degrees, and many were teaching outside their areas of expertise. Additionally, preoccupation with hand-to-mouth survival had

precluded comprehensive strategic development planning, curricular revision, faculty evaluation, and manifested itself in organizational anarchy (North Central Association, 1985). When coupled with the dreary and unmaintained physical plant, these deficiencies had the expected result on junior college students and their parents. They simply continued to stay away; only 79 junior college students enrolled for the 1984-85 school year (Kemper Military School and College, 1992).

Again, as had so often been the case, Kemper leadership refused to quit. In his inaugural speech, the new president, Colonel Roger D. Harms (1984), both promised and admonished the Kemper community.

We will restore Kemper to its rightful place with the preeminence it deserves--the excellence it has enjoyed in the past. We--all of us--are going to again make Kemper the finest military school in the nation. We can and will do it beginning today. . . .

Beginning now and during the next few months we are going to take pride in everything we do--pride in our academics, pride in our athletic endeavors, pride in ourselves, our lives, our personal discipline--so get with it! Excellence will become our standard. Get a positive attitude now. We can make Kemper no better than we think it is, and we think it's great. We--you and I together, are going to create the environment that transforms the Kemper experience into the Kemper miracle. . . .

Almost as if in answer, the Kemper's athletic program responded.

Joyous Kemper High Yellow Jacket football players surround[ed] head coach Steve Marly and his assistant coach after the Yellow Jackets 20 to 0 victory over the Missouri School for the Deaf. . . . The game marked the first time a Kemper football team has won in 39 games. (Kemperite, 1984, p.18)

After the team's second victory, Harms was quick to point out that the "team never quit and it brought back the spirit of Kemper. . . . [The motto now is,] Wait for next year" (Kemperite, 1984, p. 26). Indeed, next year would be different. Noting the enthusiastic response by alumni, students, faculty, and staff to these rare victories, Kemper

made the commitment and hired a coach to reinaugurate its intercollegiate football program after more than a decade of absence (Kemperite, 1985b). Besides football, National Junior College Athletic Association programs were also established in baseball and basketball, and Kemper teams began regional competition against both junior colleges and junior varsity squads from four-year schools. When it dawned on the administration that these programs might be able to provide an additional benefit to the school--student athletes and the financial aid they brought with them--Kemper began to emphasize athlete recruitment. Of course, the school was concerned about the quality of its recruits. Although harboring no illusions about attracting first-rate scholar-athletes, it insisted that

learning comes before playing. We don't want to bring athletes who just want to play football. We're looking for men whose first priority is to learn, and give them the chance to play junior college football. (Kemperite, 1985a, p. 29)

Initially, the team was "dominated by ROTC freshmen [and] sprinkled with sophomores" (Kemperite, 1985a). Unfortunately, the cadet-athletes went a "frustrating" 0-6 in their first season--not quite what was hoped for, causing the athletic director to reassuringly report his intensified efforts.

Undaunted, the coaching staff is searching out and recruiting the type of student-athlete needed to build a successful JuCo football program. Even as you read this, head coach Terry Ehlers, assistant Ron Green (Admissions Director) and I are combing several states for future Kemper players. (Kemperite, 1986, p. 12)

It did not take long for this recruiting to pay dividends as Kemper's new athletes began to garner All-American honors and its teams began to show up in national rankings. Success, of course, was addictive, and emphasis correspondingly shifted from recruiting academically motivated

cadets who wanted to play intercollegiate sports to high school athletes who saw Kemper as an athletic stepping stone to future visibility at a four-year school. Recruiting brochures stressed athletic possibilities, barely acknowledged academics, and mentioned the school's military nature as a mere afterthought.

The Yellow Jackets are members of the National Junior College Athletic Association, making them eligible for post-season playoff action. . . . Kemper offers a schedule that is both competitive and affords our athletes exposure to four-year programs. . . . The Kemper football staff is dedicated to providing athletes with the opportunity to continue their academic and athletic careers at four-year institutions. . . .

As with the entire Kemper athletic program, Yellow Jacket baseball is on the rise. The schedule will feature some thirty games. . . . The heavy schedule provides the player with plenty of chances to prove his worth as well as allowing him to improve his skills. . . .

The coaching staff is concerned not only about a students (sic) growth athletically, but his academic development for the future as well. . . .

Also, Army R.O.T.C. offers a two-year commissioning program that allows you to become an officer upon graduation. (Kemper Sports, undated)

As a result of athletic recruiting, junior college enrollment did increase, more than doubling by 1986. Eventually, nearly 50% of all junior college cadets were brought to Kemper on athletic scholarships (Kemper Military School and College, 1990a, 1992). Quite a few of the athletes were recruited from inner-city schools; the majority were black; and nearly all came from impoverished families.⁴⁰ Most had graduated at the respective bottoms of their high school classes and

⁴⁰ It is interesting that the student nicknames displayed prominently beneath yearbook photos reflect the changing enrollment patterns. Few students known as Sweet G, Brooklyn, Earl the Pearl, Good Thang, or Mandingo (Adjutant, 1989) attended Kemper before the arrival of the junior college athletes.

were unprepared to begin college level courses. As a result, a large part of Kemper's Junior College academic focus shifted to providing repetitive, remedial math and English studies (Eder, 1992). Although their membership in Kemper's Corps of Cadets was required, participation in the ROTC commissioning program was not. Additionally, athletes were not required to assume leadership roles, and almost to a man, they choose to remain privates. Not surprisingly, many of the athletes had a difficult time adjusting to the "Kemper experience."⁴¹

Of course, Kemper faculty, ROTC instructors, staff, cadets, alumni, and even local citizens, had a hard time adjusting to the athletes as well. Faculty resented "baby-sitting" athletes who did not want to be in class; ROTC instructors resented their military indifference; staff members resented the additional administrative burden of mediating their disputes with the faculty and ROTC cadre, other students resented their multi-thousand dollar athletic scholarships, academic inattention, and disciplinary coddling; Old Boys resented their disregard for Kemper values and tradition; and the locals simply resented their presence.

When in the winter of 1987, a red-haired female cadet was brutally murdered, the Mid-Missouri Major Case Squad subsequently arrested a black cadet attending Kemper on "financial assistance," charging him with second degree murder after "he made a statement about his

⁴¹ A Kemper self-survey of faculty, staff, students, and graduates found that, with one significant exception, "the historic and presently stated institutional values define[d]" its constituents and that their values were "congruent" with the "KMSC Mission and Purpose." The exception being, those junior college students who had graduated in the lower half of their high school class (Kemper Military School and College, 1990b, pp. 21-23 and 84-86).

involvement in the killing."⁴² Naturally, the crime shocked both the school and the local community. Colonel Harms and his key staff members did their best to minister to distraught students while calming faculty, parents, alumni, and the local community. Yet, Kemper refused to wallow in its grief, for, as noted by the school's senior vice-president, Lieutenant Colonel Michael Little, "Things like this can never be explained or understood. We have to look to the future. We must now get about our business of living." So, it would appear, Kemper did by reassessing its admissions policy and intentionally reducing its junior college enrollment. However, the school reaffirmed its commitment to recruit disadvantaged minority athletes, albeit into a "downsized athletic program" and with renewed emphasis upon enrolling students possessing the potential to develop both their character and their academic skills (Fickel, 1987; Ganey, 1987; Kemperite, 1990).

As junior college athletic enrollment decreased, the admissions office intensified efforts to recruit more preparatory school students, as did the ROTC department in an attempt to attract more students into its two-year junior college commissioning program. Prep school marketing strategy concentrated upon three Kemper strong points. First, admissions officers found that not only was the "feel" of the school usually enough to sell parents, it often worked on prospective students as well.

Kemper is tradition. History just pervades the institution. An overwhelming heritage walks the halls with you. All the photos in

⁴² The school was already reeling from the murder of another cadet. Several days before a high school senior had been removed from Kemper by his unbalanced father, taken home to Nebraska, and killed along with the rest of his family in a mass murder-suicide.

the corridors--the thousands who have gone before, they force you to look back in time. You can feel the institution. You can feel Frederick Kemper's ghost walking the halls. Look at his picture as you walk by and you'd swear his eyes follow. (Gatewood, 1992)

Second, many parents found the prep school's articulation with the junior college impressive.

A junior college is a big plus for a boarding school. Parents like the idea, even if not many of the children continue with college here. Colleges classes are available for juniors and seniors. It's good for both admissions and students. It lets them find and work on hidden talents. It lets them excel, and many have never excelled before. A college course for a high school student is a real success builder. (Gatewood, 1992).

But, without any doubt, the most important element in Kemper's high school sales pitch remained the "Kemper experience."

Just as Kemper did over one hundred years ago, we emphasize the "harmony of physical, mental, and moral powers." The "Kemper experience" makes good adults, not just academic performers. We build character. Our typical high school student comes from a professional family. Perhaps his father is in oil or ranching. His mother could be a teacher. Generally, the family is fairly well off. The student himself, or herself, is not a delinquent, but might be troubled with poor academics. Maybe, he's on the verge of a problem. The parents are looking to save the kid. They come to us for prevention. They want discipline and motivation, structured time, personal attention, and an environment without distractions. But most of all, they want us to teach success, and that is what we do best. The only way to fail here is to outright refuse help. A kid has to really work hard at it to fail at Kemper. (Gatewood, 1992)

Surprisingly, the admissions office took little interest in recruiting high school graduates for Kemper's two-year junior college ROTC program. In fact, just as admissions officers had left Junior College athletic recruiting entirely up to the Athletic Director, non-athletic junior college recruiting was left entirely up to the active duty Professor of Military Science. Perhaps, this was because selling Kemper to prospective ROTC cadets was a considerably more difficult task than selling the preparatory school to concerned parents. Still, the

ROTC department found that "once we accepted the fact that Kemper was not a mini-West Point, we were able to make a very strong pitch."

Future officers could be assured that the school would

take things one step at a time. At Kemper, our focus is almost entirely upon basic general education requirements and military science. Our cadets immerse themselves within a military culture for their two years here, and then, once they graduate and receive their commission, they concentrate in an academic discipline. (Lepore, 1992)

Of course, the biggest single attraction for potential ROTC cadets was the possibility of earning an officer's commission in only two years instead of four.⁴³ Unfortunately, few high school counselors were aware of military junior colleges--much less any specific school like Kemper--so "word of mouth" became

the best way to sell the program. If students are impressed with the program and the school, they tell their friends. So, to compensate for the physical condition of the school and the apathy of the junior college cadets who weren't interested in earning a commission, we began to provide a lot of ROTC sponsored activities. Of course we have Scabbard and Blade and a Ranger organization, but we also started taking the ROTC cadets on field trips, sponsoring a military ball and an annual Dining In, and all kinds of other neat stuff. Things that keep them active, interested, and involved. Also, we've been able to offer our cadets the opportunity to play intercollegiate sports which is something they just couldn't do at most four year schools. (Lepore, 1992)

Initially, the ROTC department was happy to enroll any "self-selecting" potential officer that could meet the minimum Army

⁴³ Cadets, who graduated from Kemper with an associate degree and had completed the senior military science curriculum, would be appointed as Second Lieutenants and allowed to serve in Army Reserve or National Guard units while finishing their baccalaureate at a four year college. Not only did this allow Kemper graduates to "jump-start" their military careers by gaining valuable experience, but it provided them with two years of pay seniority while awaiting active duty appointments (Counselor's Guide to Army ROTC, 1985; Basic Facts About Army ROTC, (1988)).

requirements of a 2.0 high school grade point average and combined SAT score of 850 or a composite ACT of 17. However, consistently poor performances by Kemper cadets at annual Army-wide summer camps convinced officers that "quality was every bit as important as quantity." As a result, the ROTC department reduced its quantitative expectations and began to target--with satisfying results--several promising groups of high school students: those students who scored relatively high on their ACTs and checked the block indicating they might be interested in attending a military school, those students who had been turned down for service academy admissions or four year Army ROTC scholarships, and those students recommended by Senior Army Instructors at high school JROTC programs throughout the country in response to annual Kemper queries (Lepore, 1992).⁴⁴

All told, these efforts by the admissions office and the ROTC department met with considerable success. Total enrollment at Kemper Military School and College reached a plateau of around 330 students by the end of the decade, which, although not enough to herald prosperity, guaranteed fiscal survival and allowed the school to concentrate on other pressing matters, specifically resolution of its long-term debt and the myriad of associated problems identified by the North Central Association (Beyer, 1992; Dahler, 1992).

⁴⁴ Junior college cadet enrollment increased from 106 in 1987 to 128 in 1988 and 168 in 1989, before being reduced to 120 in 1990. Simultaneously, the percentage of junior college cadets actively enrolled in the commissioning program has grown from less than 30% in the mid-1980s to over 45%. (Kemper Military School and College, 1992).

First Impressions

It is a bright autumn day in Boonville. The cluster of turreted, red brick buildings rises sturdily above an expansive parade field, framed by stands of dark green pines, orange-red maples, and yellow oaks. The Stars and Stripes flutters on the main flag pole, high above a matched pair of old black cannon. Despite the white paint that peels from the many window frames, decorative columns, and rain gutters, the school is far from shabby. It's clear that somebody cares about this institution. The grounds are immaculate.

Illustration 21

Kemper Military School and College, 1992

⁴⁵ Unless specifically cited otherwise, my 1992 field notes are the source of all information presented in this chapter. Not all quotations are attributed as many of those interviewed requested that their responses remain confidential.

I can't help but notice that almost everyone is smiling--the faculty, the staff, and, most of all, the students. Students, indeed, appear to enjoy it here. Two cadet officers in trim, West Point style uniforms with gleaming brass interrupt sabre practice as I approach. "Can I help you, Sir?" asks one who must be about eighteen and looks as if he just stepped out of a Kemper magazine advertisement. The Dean's office is in the old B Barracks I am informed; "Right up those steps and through the white double doors."

Inside, five gold and black cadet company guidons hang over the foyer, mounted above light blue woodwork that highlights slightly darker walls. A large guest book is displayed prominently beside the entry along with handsome certificates attesting to the Army's most recent redesignation of Kemper as a Distinguished Military School, an honor it has continuously held since 1914. Through a doorway on the right, I can see the visitors' lounge--where admissions officers greet prospective parents--with its hardwood floor, oriental rug, tapestry couch, and deep blue leather arm chairs. Will Roger's portrait is displayed above the fireplace, and his bronze bust stands on the mantel. Leather-bound volumes of Shakespeare, Kipling, and Cicero share shelf space with a half dozen slightly tarnished loving cups.

The Academic Dean's office is just beyond the foyer in the original building erected by Frederick Kemper in 1845. Eight-by-ten inch glossies of prominent alumni--businessmen, military officers, politicians, and even a Space Shuttle astronaut--line the main hallway. Here and there are interspersed pictures of entertainers like Hugh O'Brien, George Lindsay, and Richard Shull. A giant oil painting of

Sylvester J. "Chief" Tinker--the first American Indian to attend a military academy--shares a position of honor with another portrait of Will Rogers. Just beyond this "Wall of Honor," a succession of class photographs, beginning with the three graduates of 1869, winds around the corner, up an ancient staircase, and on to the second floor. It is readily apparent--as I would soon be told many times by many people--that "tradition walks these halls."

Dean Dahler has just walked into his office as I arrive. Dr. Al Dahler is new to Kemper, although as a retired officer he is no stranger to the military and, as a former faculty member at Marion Military Institute, he is no stranger to military schools. Surprisingly, Dahler is--as are all faculty and staff with the exception of the Commandants and active duty military personnel--dressed not in military uniform, but in grey slacks and a blue blazer. An embroidered metallic Kemper crest adorns his left pocket. This recent change, he explains, has already paid dividends; civilian faculty members are far more comfortable now that they have turned in their pseudo-Army uniforms, and the new conservative attire emphasizes--in their minds as well as the minds of students, staff, and parents--Kemper's academic heritage and the private prep school image it is working hard to promote.

Al Dahler is a friendly man. Kemper is, he assures me, pleased that I have come to visit. Quickly, he points out that with an institutional philosophy and mission deeply rooted in its past, a firm commitment to academic, character, and physical development continues to guide the school. As we talk in his large office, he promises open access to the entire campus, its faculty, staff, students, and archives.

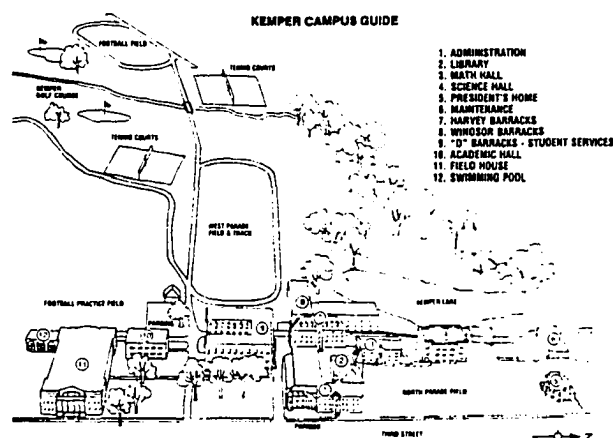
The Campus

Even to the casual observer, it is immediately obvious that school's physical plant has changed little over the past sixty years. In fact, with the exception of Windsor Barracks, cadets of the 1930s would find Kemper's 120 acres quite familiar. Johnston Field House and Hitch House--the gymnasium and the president's residence--still anchor two corners of the campus along the west side of Third Street. Mid-way between the them stands B Barracks, Frederick Kemper's original structure that now houses the school's administrative offices. Directly behind B barracks, lies the assembly court--known to decades of students as the bullring. The bullring is the traditional, though not geographic, center of the school. It is here that students stand their multiple daily formations and, if they unfortunately have been so ordered, walk off punishment tours. Surrounding the court are the school's small library, Math Hall, as well as both Harvey and D Barracks. Radiating from this core are Science Hall, Windsor Barracks, and Academic Hall. Kemper Lake, the main parade field, the tennis courts, the football field, and the golf course buffer Kemper's western boundary.

It is also clear that Kemper Military School and College is actually an amalgam of three distinct, though very interrelated schools: Kemper Military School, a coeducational military preparatory school admitting cadets from grade 7 through 12; Kemper Girls' Academy, a female preparatory high school; and Kemper Junior College with its mix of both boarding cadets and local day students. Male college cadets are housed in D Barracks, and military school boys stay in Windsor Barracks.

Females--both cadets and academy students--live in Harvey Barracks. Seventh and eighth grade classes are conducted in Harvey Barracks, high school studies in Science Hall, and junior college courses--with the exception of lab sciences--take place in Academic Hall.

Illustration 22



Campus Guide, 1992

Inside these old buildings, Kemper's classrooms have changed as little over the years as the structures themselves. Without exception, any could have served as a setting for one of Norman Rockwell's vignettes of Americana. All have high ceilings, tall double-hung windows with light brown shades, black chalkboards along their front walls, and orderly rows of wooden student desks. Many have bulletin boards, trimmed with construction paper borders and filled with clippings, pictures, or student papers. Large wooden teacher desks sit at the front of each classroom; cluttered tables and filled bookshelves

often line the walls. Most of the classrooms are in use throughout the day, and all classes, whether preparatory or collegiate, appear to contain between ten and fifteen students. Most teachers lecture from the fronts of their rooms, yet tone of their classes is universally personal.

Pat Turner's junior college composition class is typical. Her ten students include a mix of uniformed cadets and local day students. Most of the students are attentive and have prepared for class, however two of the cadets obviously wish they were somewhere else. Pat has begun her class with a discussion about current events. Skillfully, she weaves in excerpts from newspaper editorials, and eventually leads into a seminar about writing from a distinctive point of view. The concept is difficult for many of the students to understand, and Pat works hard to draw all of them into the discussion. Although she is successful with most, the two disinterested cadets have tuned her out. One has fallen asleep, and the other works surreptitiously to open a can of Coke he has smuggled into class. The sleeper, she awakes by calling for his opinion; the thirsty cadet, she firmly corrects with frustration but no apparent anger. Continuing, she reads both good and poor examples from past student papers to illustrate the critical points she is trying to convey. Her forty-five minute class concludes with a fifteen minute writing exercise, during which Turner circulates throughout the room working individually with those pupils who had trouble following the discussion. She encourages several to return to the classroom at the end of the day for additional one-on-one work, and from their responses, it seems likely that they will.

When the ringing bell interrupts this personal instruction, day students amble toward their cars. Cadets, however, quickly rise and move out to the bullring to prepare for lunch. After a quick accountability check and a few administrative announcements, the corps begins to enter the mess hall.

The dining facility occupies much of D Barracks's main floor. Although quite large, it is quickly filled as Old Boys and girls academy students fill their plates at the dinner line or salad bar. New Boys--including several female cadets--of all ages, however, are marched to their tables. After being ordered to "Take seats," they sit at attention, arms folded and extended perpendicularly from their bodies, while awaiting their turn to draw trays and move through the serving area. Returning to their assigned seats, again they sit at attention awaiting permission to eat. At random, one is called upon to lead his peers in a quick, perfunctory prayer, "Bless this food we are about to receive, Amen." Quickly, they eat square meals, moving spoons and forks from their plates to their mouths in a series of rigid right angles, while enduring an assortment of badgering questions from Old Boy cadet leaders. No sooner, it seems, have they finished, then it is time to begin afternoon activities.

As the preparatory students finish lunch and hurry off, many college cadets--those who have no classes scheduled immediately following lunch--either climb the stairs up to their rooms or down to the student service complex. Student rooms, too, have changed little over the years. They are, of course, rather spartan. All rooms house two students, usually close in age. Each room is furnished with two

sturdy, plain wooden beds, two wooden chairs, and a room-wide double-desk. Two wooden bookshelves are mounted upon the counter, flanking one plainly curtained window. Cadet mattresses are covered by drumskin-tight black blankets each emblazoned with a large yellow Kemper crest. Each student's set of uniforms is uniformly displayed in a personal, though doorless, closet. Civilian clothes are not allowed in student rooms, but--since they are only occasionally authorized for wear--kept in central storage. New cadets are not allowed to decorate their rooms in any fashion, although Old Boys are granted slightly more freedom, and many hang a poster or two.⁴⁶

Those students who went downstairs after lunch were likely heading toward Kemper's complex of student services: the barber and tailor shops, post office, bookstore, and most importantly, the club room. While the club's old dark panelling, black and yellow painted trim, and formica booths might seem rather lackluster to a typical public high school or community college student, without doubt its two pool tables, short order grill, juke box, and video games are an entertainment oasis for Kemper boarders. Indeed, the club receives considerable use, at least during periods of student free time.

Actually, free times are relatively few and relatively brief. Current schedules are reminiscent of those from years before. All boarding students, whether attending Kemper Girls' Academy, Kemper Military school, or Kemper Junior College, arise with reveille at 0600 to clean their rooms and common dormitory areas. They don their

⁴⁶ Kemper Girls Academy students are, however, given quite a bit of latitude in personalizing their rooms. Most take full advantage of the opportunity.

uniforms⁴⁷ and by 0700 have assembled in the bullring for breakfast formation after which they file into the mess hall. School formation follows at 0750, and five forty-five minute academic class periods begin at 0800. Students reassemble for an hour lunch at 1215. Although college classes--to include military science and varsity sports--continue after lunch, preparatory school students concentrate on scheduled extracurricular activities until supper. While extracurricular participation is mandatory, students may choose from a wide variety of activities: character and leadership, Junior ROTC, yearbook, journalism, drum and bugle corps, drill team, debate, drama, arts and crafts, and even ACT/SAT preparation. It is, however, impossible for them to avoid scheduling at least one physical choice like football, soccer, cross country, golf, tennis, martial arts, or life-time sports. Free time begins at 1635 for college students and an hour later for everyone else. Dinner is served promptly at 1830, and two hours of supervised evening study begins at 1930. Taps sounds at 2200, however high school seniors and college cadets are not required to turn off their room lights until 2300 (Kemper 7-12 Student Guidebook, 1992; Kemper Military Junior College Academic Guidebook, 1992).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Members of the cadet corps normally wear white or blue military style shirts with grey uniform pants and jackets. Kemper Girls Academy students wear plaid skirts, white blouses, and blue sweaters or blazers.

⁴⁸ Of course, junior college day students are not subject to this schedule. They need only show up in time for their scheduled classes. Similarly, as they are not part of the Corps of Cadets, they do not wear uniforms. However, they are subject to a rather strict dress code that requires them to be "neatly groomed" and prohibits "extreme hairstyles," bare feet, "shorts, athletic shorts, cut-up T-shirts or sweat shirts, sweat pants, [and] bib overalls." Additionally, clothing may not display "inappropriate printed messages." (Kemper Military Junior College, 1992a, 1992b)

Wednesdays are special days at the school. Wednesday afternoons belong to the Dean of Students and his staff. This time might be spent on such mundane tasks as preparing for and standing inspections or on more enjoyable endeavors like field trips or a visit to a shopping mall. Every other Wednesday evening, students assemble in the school auditorium for Vespers. Vespers, at Kemper, is a secular affair, and although these bi-weekly ceremonies begin with a student composed and led benediction, the prayer is much more likely to be "for those of us who are academically in need" than it is to be for spiritual salvation. Vespers is, in fact, oriented entirely toward Kemper's goal of inspiring success. Led by the Academic Dean and attended by all of the students and most of the faculty and staff, Vespers is a time to recognize those students who have succeeded and encourage those who have not. It is the forum in which self-discipline is championed, leadership awards are presented, and in which honor roll students are recognized. Guest speakers, often accomplished Kemper alumni, hold students spellbound with tales of the "old days," "rat years," "bracings," and "blanket parties." Yet, more importantly, they personally testify to the self-discipline and character building success of the Kemper method while admonishing those who refuse to try or, even worse, would misuse their positions of leadership. Again and again, the point is driven home that

character and leadership are not based on how loud one's voice is. It is not based on barking commands. It is not based on physical strength, but on inner strength, on personal discipline. By your own example, you make those around you wish to follow, wish to do the right thing. Encourage them to do right by your actions and your best judgement. Leadership and character are based on integrity and respect. Respect both those above and below you in the chain of command. Learn to recognize the difference between

true leadership and artificial cardboard stripes or tin rank. Always remember, leadership comes from the heart. (Irigoegaray, 1992)

While a more jaded or cynical audience might laugh off these celebrations of self-discipline, most Kemper students do not. Perhaps part of the reason many of these students buy this message hook, line, and sinker is that, as one cadet remarked,

some of us have been on the other side. I have, and I thank God my dad brought me here. It was really hard at first. I never used to care about anything. At first, I fought it all the time, but if he hadn't made me stay, I don't know where I'd be. All screwed up. Probably on drugs, or pregnant, or dead.

The Students

Not all Kemper students are so dramatic, yet many do seem especially grateful that they are enrolled. Actually, the Kemper Military School and College student body is much too diverse to be reduced to any generalized description. This is somewhat surprising considering its relatively small size. After all, the combined enrollment of Kemper's three sub-schools is only slightly more than 330 students (Kemper Military School and College, 1992). Yet upon reflection, this makes sense considering that students of the Kemper Military School, Kemper Girls' Academy, and Kemper Junior College differ greatly in such basic characteristics as grade, sex, and age.

Illustration 23



Kemper Military School and College Students

There are, however, a number of other distinctions that both differentiate students within these sub-schools as well as cut across their boundaries. Some of the Kemper Military School students are, in fact, traditionally representative of stereotypic upper-middle class, military school cadets.⁴⁹ While none have been given the theatrical choice of going to jail or enrolling at Kemper, many do have a history of de-facto, if not judicial, delinquency. Others have been enrolled by concerned parents to improve study habits or receive individualized academic attention. A few have been diagnosed as learning disabled. Several have very wealthy parents who happen to be spending a year or two abroad. Those who come from foreign countries as far away as Somalia or Thailand--perhaps in an effort to avoid political violence and turmoil or to gain an understanding of American culture--require enrollment in a program designed to teach English as a second language.⁵⁰ A handful are legacies whose fathers and grandfathers attended Kemper years before. And, one or two of the cadets are simply good students who thought it would be "cool" or "exciting" to attend a military academy.

While a similar mix of students has enrolled in the Kemper Girls' Academy, the factions found at Kemper Junior college are significantly different. The most visible distinction within the junior college is

⁴⁹ Kemper Military School and College remains a very expensive school. Annual tuition and fees total well over \$12,600. While many junior college cadets attend on ROTC or athletic scholarships, there are no scholarships or grants available for preparatory school students. (Adair, 1992)

⁵⁰ Foreign students often have a hard time adjusting to life at Kemper. Many initially refuse to clean their rooms, and some have adamantly demanded that they be allowed to "hire a maid."

between the uniformed members of the cadet corps and the local civilian students who commute to and from Kemper each day. However, not so immediately visible is the distinction between those college cadets who are enrolled in the ROTC commissioning program and those who are not. Generally, those in the commissioning program are academically sound and serious students. Some, as graduates of the Kemper Military School, choose to attend the junior college because of its familiarity or in anticipation of the pleasant prospect of being a big fish in a small pond. Most, however, were actively recruited by the ROTC department after failing to be admitted to one of the federal military academies or receive ROTC scholarships for use at schools like Michigan or the University of California at Berkeley. Regardless, all are serious about earning a Second Lieutenant's commission and eventually completing their baccalaureate.

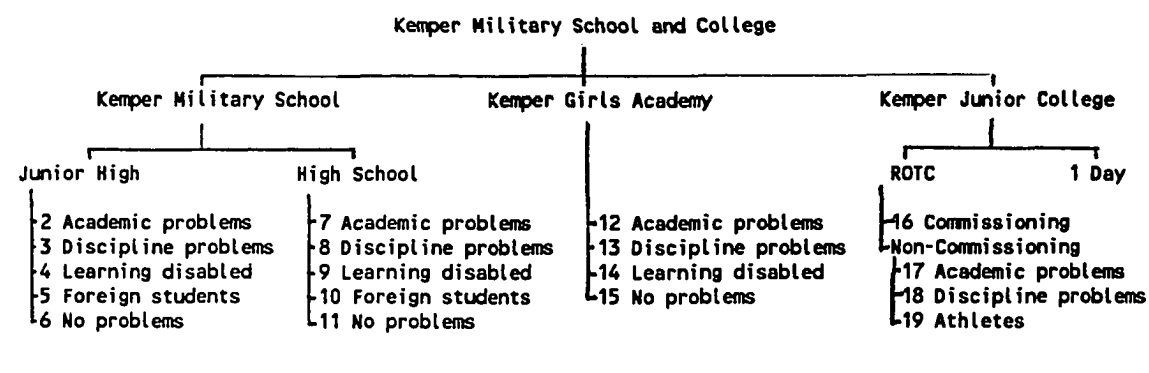
The non-commissioning students, on the other hand, are frequently deficient in basic verbal, math, and study skills.⁵¹ Additionally, they are focused, if they are focused at all, in a much different direction than are the commissioning students. It is not too extreme to suggest that most of the non-commissioning junior college students are at Kemper for one reason only; they hope to perfect the athletic skills and achieve the athletic visibility that will earn them a ticket into a four year basketball or football program. Some, however, lack even this motivation; there are a few college students who have been enrolled by

⁵¹ Only one-third of entering junior college freshmen rank in the upper half of their high school graduating class (Kemper Military School and College, 1992; Petersen's Two-Year Colleges 1992, 1991b). Perhaps more telling, less than eight percent score higher than 500 on either the math or verbal SATs (Kemper Military School and College, 1990).

parents for academic or self-disciplinary reasons. As might be expected, these students have little sense of direction and remain apart from both their commissioning and athletic peers.

All things considered, it would appear that after years of enrolling whatever students it could--in an effort to stay financially afloat--at least nineteen distinctly different types of students now attend Kemper Military School and College.

Table 8

Kemper Student Diversity - 1992

As might be expected, this academic diversity has resulted, to some degree, in social fragmentation and, even more importantly, caused considerable consternation among Kemper's faculty and staff.

The Faculty and Staff

At Kemper Military School and College, the difference between the faculty and staff is not as distinct as might be expected. Digressing slightly and employing appropriately military logic, faculty can be thought of as the line--that is, those elements directly engaged in accomplishing organizational missions. The staff could, likewise, be thought of as, well, the staff--that is, a collection of sections charged with providing necessary administrative, logistical, and ancillary support to the line. Directing both, the president would be analogous to the commander, who--while deferring to higher echelons in matters regarding strategy--retains control of current operations.

Although, for the most part, Kemper conforms to this organizational hierarchy, responsibilities occasionally blur. Kemper's president, indeed, defers to the Board of Trustees with regard to long-range planning while directing the day-to-day management of the school. He uses the same staff, organized on a functional basis, to administer all three of Kemper's sub-schools. There is a business directorate responsible for the institution's financial management, a directorate of alumni and development responsible for both public relations and fund raising, a directorate of admissions and recruitment, an athletic directorate, and a support services division in charge of, among other things, facility maintenance.

Recently, Kemper has appointed a Dean of Students to be responsible for all aspects of student life save academics and junior college ROTC. Subordinate to this Dean are two Commandants, one for the junior college and one for the military school, and a Director of

Students for the girls' academy. While at many schools, these positions might clearly fall within the administrative realm, at Kemper they are integrally involved in developing student self-discipline and character, a key component of the institutional mission. Students are not allowed to "shirk" involvement. Recently, there has been a renewed emphasis upon leadership, self-esteem, and character building activities.⁵² As it was often impressed upon me, there is "no idle time. We won't let kids hide from life. We won't allow them to become room rats or barracks lizards. We insist that they participate" (Lindsay, 1992). In many of the leadership and character building activities that this staff coordinates, their actions are often quite similar to those of the faculty. Commandants, tactical officers, and junior ROTC instructors impart the military school instruction "designed to give order and priority to the challenges and tasks required to become well educated," to teach cadets to take charge of themselves, and to

mature and strengthen their leadership skills, [as] they take command of, and responsibility for, the squads, platoons, and companies which form the time-honored Kemper Corps of Cadets. . . . Cadets are taught about judgement and practice it; about responsibility and assume it; about honor and live it. (Kemper Military School and College, 1991, p. 2)

Similarly, within the girls' academy, the Director of Students ensures that its "young women [are provided] the opportunity to develop in mind, body, and spirit in their own structured environment" by supervising a system of "leadership training and self-governance . . .

⁵² It is only recently that Kemper adults have reassumed responsibility for the school's character building process. "Until Dr. Dahler arrived, the students were in complete control and they weren't very good at it." Physical hazing, while not common, did occur, and occasionally younger students were severely beaten.

based on the centuries old English 'prefect' boarding school model" (Kemper Military School and College, 1991, p. 4).

The faculty, too, assists in this character building effort, stressing the importance of self-discipline and academic responsibility by insisting junior high, high school, and junior college students alike comply with the long-standing Kemper requirement to complete every lesson every day. Moreover, Dean Dahler has taken a personal role in developing leadership related classes and requiring faculty supervision of extracurricular activities. Still, however, these activities remain secondary to the faculty's primary role.

The Kemper faculty is a teaching faculty, and their focus is entirely academic. With the exception of compensatory math and English classes, all junior college courses are designed to fulfill general education requirements at four year institutions. The junior high and high school curricula are designed with college acceptance in mind.

Within Kemper Military School, there are two junior high instructors, one of whom teaches math and science courses, while the other teaches English and social studies. Ten teachers instruct the combined military school and girls' academy high school classes. And, the junior college curriculum is presented by nine full-time, three part-time, and four ROTC instructors; six and seven course teaching loads are common. Three instructors teach both high school and junior college courses. All of the full-time junior college instructors have masters degrees in their fields, and three have completed doctorates. Faculty members range in age between their late twenties and late sixties; slightly more than half are male. And, while two have been at

Kemper for well over twenty years, most have only recently joined the school (Kemper Military School and College, 1992).

In fact, Kemper's faculty--as well as its staff--turn-over rate has been fairly high (Kemper Military School and College, 1990, 1992). This, many insist, is because, until the very recent arrival of Dr. Dahler, Kemper Military School and College has been a very frustrating place to work, and faculty-staff morale "sucked."

The Frustrations

Some of this dissatisfaction remains today. Staff and faculty, but especially the faculty, believe they are grossly underpaid. Although it is widely accepted that teaching is the "heart of the institution" and that Kemper would be unable "to continue to provide its unique experience without a student-teacher ratio of less than 15:1," the school's historically precarious financial position has simply made it impossible to offer instructors competitive salaries. Few earn more than \$20,000 annually, and the average full-time faculty salary has hovered around \$17,500. Many hold second jobs, some as adjuncts at nearby schools and some with private companies. Just as disturbing for many is their "lack of job security." Teaching contracts are only offered on a year-to-year basis. Health care benefits are minimal, and there is no retirement plan (Beyer, 1992; Kemper Military School and College, 1990b).

Kemper's physical plant, too, discourages its employees. It is, of course, a very old facility and requires a lot of work to keep running. In many places, walls are cracked and woodwork is splintering. Replastering and painting are required everywhere. Extensive rewiring of the electrical system is needed, the heating system is barely adequate, and air conditioning is non-existent. Some academic halls lack restrooms, and drinking fountains seldom work.

More importantly, there is near universal dissatisfaction with the junior college student athletes. Resistance is seen as their hallmark. General consensus holds many to be ill-disciplined, disruptive, unmotivated, and, worst of all, liars. Some seem hostile and appear to

seek out confrontations. Few, it is believed, are willing to take advantage of the academic and character building opportunities Kemper offers. While, they might "do every lesson every day," often what they turn in is "nonsense. Sure you can make them do the assignment again, but you still get nonsense. You can bring them back in the afternoon for tutorials, but unless they want to learn it's a waste of time."

These students have no respect for anybody. Ten years ago, it was different. There was a good group of college students here then. But, these athletes are a different type. They don't care about anyone or anything but themselves, and there isn't anything we can do help them no matter how hard we try. It sad, really very sad.

Closely related to this problem, is a considerable uneasiness and visible frustration with the academic fragmentation of the school. Faculty and staff are well aware that although they are dealing with only 330 students, those students fall into nearly twenty different categories, each with its own special needs. "It's hard to work here. Who should we concentrate on: the cadets, the athletes, the day students, the problems?" For many, things at Kemper have just been "too changeable, too fluid. Until Dean Dahler got here it wasn't unusual for our teaching schedules to change several times a semester. It drove us batty." Dahler has, in fact, worked hard to reduce institutional turmoil and improve teacher morale by initiating bi-weekly meetings to keep instructors informed, surface grievances, and, if nothing else, serve as a safety valve. Still, despite his ongoing effort, an underlying frustration remains.

We never really know what is important, where we are heading. I mean, are we a junior college, a high school, a junior high, or what? Sometimes I think we're a day care center. It's hard when you are teaching a college course and you've got honor students mixed in with kids who don't have the skills of some of our

seventh or eighth graders. You know, you just don't know what is expected of you here.

The Future

Kemper Military School and College is fast approaching a cross-roads. It sees the continued faculty and staff dissatisfaction with college athletes. It understands that, with the end of the Cold War, the days of its commissioning program may be numbered as Congress eagerly eyes an elusive peace dividend and clamors for major force reductions. It recognizes that it must substantially reduce instructor anxiety by increasing salaries and establishing health and retirement plans. It knows that, despite a vastly improved financial position, resources are still spread much too thinly among too many programs. And above all, it is painfully aware that its diffused focus--that is, its attempt to serve so many student constituencies--in fact, hinders the quality of education it provides.

By the same token--but in a much more positive light--Kemper Military School and College should be ready to make a decision when it arrives at the junction. Its finances have stabilized for the first time in almost forty years. The chronic long-term debt that has plagued the school for so long has been eliminated (Beyer, 1992; Kemper Military School and College, 1990a, 1990b).

Alumni support is at an all time high; response to a sesquicentennial development program has exceeded expectations and might possibly reach the 1.8 million dollar goal. Regardless, enough money is now available to ensure the entire campus will soon benefit from long-deferred structural and cosmetic improvements (Gatewood, 1992; Smith, 1992).

There has been a reinvigoration of Kemper's academic, character

building, and physical development programs. For the first time in years, the preparatory and junior college curriculum has been reviewed and revised. The cadet corps structure has been overhauled, while the girls' academy has adopted a prefect system. Both have dramatically increased emphasis on citizenship training and character development. The extracurriculum has not only been expanded, but has been qualitatively improved, and there is a renewed emphasis on intramural and life-time sports (Dahler, 1992; Lindsay, 1992). The dedication of faculty and staff remains surprisingly strong in light of the many discouraging distractors. They work hard to teach their students how to succeed, and they are successful. Almost all of Kemper's high school students graduate, and almost all of its junior college students--even its athletes--transfer to four year schools. The faculty and staff understand the "Kemper experience" and subscribe to the Kemper philosophy (Kemper Military School and College, 1990a, 1990b, 1992).

Above all, though, Kemper has its traditions, and they well serve to motivate its students. History does, indeed, walk the halls of Kemper Military School and College. The students understand this. It is apparent when they talk about how some day they will send their photograph to Colonel Harms be added to the "Hall of Honor." It is obvious in the care they take as they prepare for the Parents' Weekend parade. It is visible in their eyes as they formally accept their officers' sabres. And, it radiates as they solemnly sign the parchment Standard of Honor in the candlelight of Boonville's historic Thespian Hall.

What path will the school take? To an outsider, it appears that

both the school's commissioning and athletic programs are in jeopardy. Certainly, Kemper would like to continue to commission its junior college graduates, but that decision might not be left to the Board of Trustees. Certainly, the intercollegiate athletic program provides Kemper with regional visibility, but admissions officers claim that few non-athletes are impressed, and others suggest that it costs far more, both in terms of money and harmony, than it is worth (Adair, 1992; Beyer, 1992; Dahler, 1992; Smith, 1992; Wirths, 1992).

If Kemper were to lose its commissioning program and jettison its commitment to intercollegiate athletics, could its junior college remain viable? Probably. For almost twenty years a significant portion of its enrollment has come from local day students (Kemper Military School and College, 1992). Would the loss of these programs affect the Kemper Corps of Cadets and the "Kemper experience?" Certainly the size of the corps would decrease, but remember, commissioning program cadets are still relatively few in number, while cadet athletes contribute little to the corps and, for the most part, ignore the "Kemper experience."

It seems likely, though, that Kemper Military School and College will work hard to maintain its two year junior college commissioning program. There is already talk of reestablishing some type of a commissioning relationship with the Missouri National Guard if support from the Army's Cadet Command should wane. Most of the faculty and staff would like to keep uniformed commissioning students enrolled in the school. These students continue a Kemper tradition; they impress the parents of prospective preparatory students; they provide positive

student leadership examples; and they form the nucleus of the junior college student body. As the same can not be said of the junior college athletes, it appears that emphasis on Kemper's intercollegiate athletic program will decrease, possibly withering completely away within the next several years.⁵³

Where then will Kemper place its emphasis? Certainly, the past several decades have sobered the school, and it has no illusions about dusting off the "Kemper 70" plan to attract thousands of students. Yet, it does believe it can thrive by enrolling three hundred preparatory students (Dahler, 1992). This focus is, of course, financially driven. Kemper has no appreciable endowment and depends entirely upon student tuition to make ends meet. Parents of preparatory students pay one hundred percent of the school's \$12,650 tuition and fees. Junior college students do not. Typically, Kemper scholarships reduce tuitions for athletes by almost \$8,000⁵⁴ and for commissioning students by about \$5,000. Day students pay fifty dollars for each credit hour or, assuming they take a full course load, \$1500 per year. While the school comes out slightly ahead on commissioning and day students, it has reached the point where it actually loses money with each athlete it enrolls (Adair, 1992; Kemper Military School and College, 1990a). Therefore, most agree, that the future of school is dependent upon the

⁵³ In fact, this shift appears to have already begun. Athletes compose only about 50% of the junior college student body, a significant decrease from nearly 70% in the mid-1980s (Kemper Military School and College, 1992).

⁵⁴ The remainder of athletic tuition is usually funded by student loans. "Last years default rate was 18%, but that's not too bad. It's been far, far worse."

success of Kemper's military high school and girls' academy attracting and retaining students. Kemper Junior College is important, but only as an adjunct--or more aptly put, "a parental selling point"--for the preparatory school divisions.

Actually this refocusing of attention on Kemper's preparatory schools is to be expected. For the past one hundred fifty years, it has been Kemper's preparatory traditions that have structured institutional culture and student life, and it has been Kemper's preparatory commitment that sustained its enrollments, especially during the perilous days of the Civil War, the Depression, and Vietnam. The school's preparatory roots and historic commitment to Frederick Kemper's education philosophy continue to be as strong today as they have ever been.

We believe the Kemper Legacy is, and always will be, a preparation for life shared by past, current and future graduates through a holistic education process of:

* Character building, training and practice of individual ethics and acceptance of responsibility and authority;

* Discipline that is self-imposed. It is most effective when attitudes are being changed; obedience given because of a sense of duty and respect for rules and leadership;

* Honor, learned and taught through bonds of living daily in a peer environment of integrity, truth and personal accountability for one's actions;

* Education that transcends the demands of curriculum, text books, and classroom creating the intellectual curiosity, knowledge, skills and tenacity that are guided by the ideals and goals of contributing to the society in which one lives;

* Leadership traits developed in a demanding evaluative environment; where each day creates a practical application laboratory to hone one's decision making processes, strengthen one's weaknesses, balance command responsibilities with compassion, and live as an example for others to emulate.
(Kemper Military School, Girls' Academy, Junior College, 1992)

Analysis, Conclusion, and Recommendations

Analysis and Conclusion

My selection of Kemper Military School and College as a representative member of the small family of articulated military schools and junior colleges was based upon several facts. Most significant were the following. The school has been in almost uninterrupted operation since it was opened by Frederick Kemper in 1844 at the height of the American academy movement. In 1885, as academies began to lose students to urban high schools and close their doors, Kemper altered its orientation and began to carve a specialized educational niche for itself by restructuring as a military institution. In the early 1920s, the school seized upon the rapid growth of the early junior college movement to expand in size and scope. And, by 1940, the American Association of Junior Colleges had recognized its attempts to integrate preparatory and college studies.

Specifically, I set out to examine Kemper's academic evolution to determine if, and how, its current mission, organization, operation, and culture were representative of either its early academy or junior college roots. During this process, I additionally intended both to determine if Kemper fell within the comprehensive description of the military junior college proposed by Kayler (1989) and assess its continued viability.

Kemper Military School and College does, in fact, give many indications that it will continue operations for years to come. It has repeatedly shown that, like a Timex watch, it can take a licking and

keep on ticking. Again and again throughout the past century and a half, it has been knocked down, but never for the count. It has overcome numerous enrollment crashes. It is a survivor and can attribute its relatively long life to both an unwavering commitment to the Kemper philosophy and a pragmatic willingness to compromise on other issues. Never has the school strayed from its mission "to develop in harmony the physical, mental, and moral power" of its students. However, to foot the bill for expansions or, more drastically, to keep open its doors, the school has been quick to reconsider and revise admissions policies. Although painful at times, Kemper Military School and College has had a long and successful record of precariously balancing operating costs, long-range requirements, and fluctuating enrollments. Today, for the first time in several decades, the school is in relatively sound financial shape. Certainly, Kemper faces serious, deferred problems, but none of them threaten its institutional life. While it might be stretching the truth to claim that Kemper is today a vibrant institution, to do so in the near future might not seem so outlandish.

My familiarity with Kayler's research led me to begin my investigation of Kemper Military School and College believing that I would find a vital military junior college at its institutional heart. However, no assumption could have been less correct. Although Kayler's definition of the military junior college does hold true for Kemper's junior college division, it tells only part of the story. Not only is Kemper's military junior college haunted by the divisions between its day, commissioning, and athletic students, but, it is clearly viewed as

less important to long term success than the school's preparatory departments. If the two year commissioning program were to be withdrawn, or, even worse, if the entire junior college division were to close its doors, it is quite likely that Kemper's preparatory academies would continue the march, scarcely missing a beat. At Kemper--and perhaps at many of the other schools--it is the traditional preparatory military academy that provides institutional focus.

This, I believe, is to a large extent due to the traditions that have historically entwined all facets of the school's mission, organization, operation, and culture. To this day, faculty, staff, and students speak of the "Kemper experience," and as they discuss this merging of academic, character, and physical development, it is much more than a simple referral to the way their school goes about its business. They are invoking the one hundred fifty year old philosophy of the school's founder Frederick Kemper and along with it, the basic philosophy of the nineteenth century American academy. When students prepare for inspection, drill in the bullring, or sign the Standard of Honor, they are living the philosophy of Thomas A. Johnston and his turn-of-the-century military school. And, when they find their choice of junior college courses limited to those fulfilling the University of Missouri's general education requirements, they are experiencing the philosophy of the early junior college movement as brought to Kemper by A.M. Hitch.

Clearly, Kemper Military School and College--and perhaps each of the other articulated military schools--has maintained a fidelity to the original missions of not only the nineteenth century American academy

and the early twentieth century American junior college, but to the turn-of-the-century American military school as well. Archaic as it may seem to mainstream education, not only has Kemper adhered to these philosophies, but the school has found them to well serve its students. In spite of the variety of problems brought to the Kemper Military School and the girls' academy by their matriculants, almost all of them graduate from high school. Ninety percent of Kemper's junior college students earn Associates Degrees, and ninety percent of these graduates transfer to four-year institutions--most as first semester juniors (Kemper Military School and College, 1990a, 1990b, 1992). Kayler's research (1989) and data found in high school and junior college guide books (Petersen, 1991a, 1991b) suggest this is typical. Obviously, these schools are doing something right.

Unfortunately, these unique institutions have been--as John Thelin or Daniel Boorstin might have predicted--too often ignored by researchers in favor of more current or fashionable models. Perhaps--as Merle Borrowman might suggest--the philosophies and attendant efforts behind the articulated military schools and junior colleges are, indeed, every bit as enlightening and worthy of study as those of the educational mainstream. I would claim that they are.

Recommendations

Kayler (1989) has recently proposed an excellent variety of projects that would increase the visibility and knowledge of military junior colleges to include conducting: a comparison of the military junior colleges and other types of residential junior colleges to identify areas of similarity and difference; a descriptive analysis of military junior college faculty; and a follow-up study of officers who received commissions after attending military junior colleges.

This, however, is only the tip of an iceberg. I believe much additional research is first required to define the considerably broader realm of American military education. As academe has paid little attention to this topic, the field is a rich and fertile one in which to conduct further research in previously neglected subjects.

To help initiate a base line of study, I recommend conducting:

- 1) a historical evaluation of the ideas and theories of American military educators,
- 2) descriptive analyses of the various elements of service specific American military education systems to include officer, non-commissioned officer, and enlisted programs,
- 3) a comparison between each services' composite military education program or between specific elements--such as pre-commissioning education--within those programs,
- 4) a series of correlational studies identifying relationships between a range of military educational experiences and a variety of other variables including

- job performance, job satisfaction, and career success,
- 5) a detailed analysis of faculty members, administrators, and students both across the entire spectrum and within specific groups of military educational programs, and finally
- 6) a descriptive examination of military education conducted by private and public elementary and secondary schools throughout the country.

Appendix A
Observation Guide

Although occasionally paraphrased, all queries in this guide are based on "observational questions for education settings" identified by Bogdan and Bilken (1982).

School Environment

Physical Environment

What is the nature of the school architecture?

How old are the buildings and what are their conditions?

Can they adequately accommodate the students?

Is there a school fence or wall?

What is the campus like?

What is the general appearance of the faculty?

What is the local community like?

How do students, staff, faculty and visitors get to the school?

What is the local climate like?

Are the classrooms and dormitories comfortable?

Can classroom and dormitory temperatures be individually controlled? Do the windows open?

How is space arranged in the school?

What are the best places in the school? Who controls them?

Is there separate space for faculty, staff, and students?

Do students have private, securable space?

Can students decorate their spaces? How are they decorated?

What are the lavatories, and shower facilities like?

What is the nature of any graffiti?

What kind of audiovisual/computer property is available? Where is it located? What is its condition?

Do staff members live or eat with students?

What are meal hours like?

What type of faculty and student lounges are available?

What are evenings like in the dormitories?

Economic, social and cultural environment

What is the school's reputation in the community?

What are the school's main problems?

How do people react to criticism?

What is the racial composition of the school? How do people feel about it?

How are minority faculty and students distributed in the school?

What type of cliques exist?

What is the socio-economic composition of the school?

Semantic environment

To what extent do faculty and staff members use jargon or the vernacular, especially when addressing students?

How do students, faculty, and staff refer to each other publicly?

What nicknames do they have for each other in private?

What nicknames does each group have for specific school locations?

Are any unfamiliar words used? Describe them.

Does the staff use esoteric jargon to refer to school activities? Can they translate it into English?

How does each group describe the school?

Human EnvironmentFaculty and cadre

What do they complain about?

What do they praise?

How do they explain low/high student achievement?

Do they have favorites? What are they like?

Is there a difference between "their time" and "school" time?

How do they think of sick days and vacation?

How do they define unprofessional behavior?

Are men and women treated the same?

Who are the most popular teachers?

Who are the least popular teachers?

Other staff

What reasons do staffers give for working in the school?

What goes on in the library?

What do staffers think is the most important thing they do?

Do any groups just sit around?

What rules do they ignore?

Who is responsible for maintenance and housekeeping?

What do the maintenance and housekeeping staff say about the school?

How does the staff treat the faculty?

Staff-student communication

Do the groups gossip about each other?

Do they tease each other?

Do they curse each other?

To what extent do students tolerate put-downs?

Are students ignored?

Do students antagonize or mock the staff?

Does anyone talk about special days (e.g. TGIF)?

Is the tone different on different days?

Is the tone different in different seasons?

How do people view the end of the term?

Do staff members knock before entering doors?

How does the staff view the students?

How do students communicate with each other during the day?

Do the two groups hide information from each other?

What type of achievements are rewarded?

Do students have any decision making power?

Students

How often do students exercise?

What activities do they enjoy?

What do they wear to class, after, and on weekends?

Can you identify groups by their dress?

Who are most/least popular? Why?

Who do troubled students approach for help?

Administration

How long has the current superintendent/president been at the school?

How do others act when he enters a room, dormitory, or meeting?

What do administrators say is unprofessional?

How do they check on faculty/cadre and other staff?

Are there any special management styles?

Are there school wide assemblies/functions?

How is the administration viewed by students/faculty?

How do students move to, between and from classes, meals, church, etc.?

Do student and faculty needs influence the daily life of the school?

Is there an intercom? Who uses it and why?

How are rewards/trips/etc. distributed?

Is participation in school events affected by race, class, or other clique?

How are student records maintained? Can parents view them? Can parents add comments?

Do records address the whole person?

Is defamatory and discrediting information entered in records?
Are students' written appeals included?

Are students' records discussed publicly by the staff?

Parents

What communication occurs between parents and the school?

What are the visitation rules?

Is there a PTA?

How are parents' complaints handled?

What kind of literature is available for parents?

How frequent are parent/school contacts? About what?

Are there open houses?

What is a typical outsider's visit like?

Are open houses and visits typical of the school as a whole?

Learning EnvironmentLearning situation

How are classrooms decorated?

How do students interact in the classroom?

How are students grouped?

Why are they praised?

Are classrooms spacious or crowded? Somber or cheery? Etc.?

Which student's have performed well/poorly? How are they treated?

What is the average class size?

How are classes conducted?

Why do students believe they will be rewarded?

Faculty/cadre-student relationships

How many handouts are used?

Do students have free time when they finish their work?

Are their group work activities?

If so, what is the teacher's role?

How is the class paced?

Is learning individualized?

Which students have most/least teacher contact?

Discipline and control

Can students choose their seats?

How prominent is control in day to day operations?

Are student movements restricted during the day/evening/weekends?

What kind of punishments are used?

How and when are they given?

What infractions do the staff ignore?

Is the school safe?

How do students express hostility and settle arguments?

Who can discipline students?

What behaviors encourage the worst punishments?

To what extent do rewards and punishments approximate the real world?

Appendix B

Interview Agenda

Interviews were conducted with the twenty-seven people listed below. Some of those interviewed asked that their responses be kept confidential.

Kemper Staff

Adair, Pamela	Financial Aid Officer
Almond, Mary	Director of Admissions
Beyer, D.J.	Vice President-Treasurer
Dahler, Alfred	Dean of Academics
Gatewood, Jim	Director of Institutional Development
Lindsay, Carl	Commandant, Kemper Military School
Moellinger, Sue	Registrar
Schler, Nancy	Secretary to the Dean
Smith, Horace	Director of Alumni Affairs
Wirths, Janet	Admissions Representative

Kemper Faculty

Burnett, Joseph	Science
Eder, Keith	Mathematics
Etheridge, Laura	English as a Second Language
Fine, Mary	Mathematics
Fox, George	Librarian
LePore, Dante	ROTC
Turner, Pat	English
Westfall, Bob	Mathematics

Kemper Students

Abdillahi, Said	Horak, Shane
Evia, Aristotle	Jones, Desirie
Giles, Dorothy	McCullough, Karina
Hiles, John	Rockefeller, Katherine

Others

Shields, Judith	Friends of Historic Boonville
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Interviews were loosely based on the following agenda, and questions were tailored to the person being interviewed. Questions marked with an asterisk, have been taken--usually verbatim--from Kayler's Military Junior College Interview Guide (1989). My changes to any specific questions developed by Kayler are enclosed in brackets.

Philosophy and educational objectives

- *1. What is the educational philosophy of the institution?
- 2. How has it changed over the last 150 years?
- *3. Who established the educational philosophy for the [school]?
- 4. Is special importance placed upon any other educator?
- 5. Is there a connection between the philosophy of the college and the secondary school? How are they the same, how are they different? Are they connected? How?
- *6. What is the relative importance of the following traditional missions of the community/junior college?
 - a. Develop learning skills.
 - b. Provide general education instruction.
 - c. Provide guidance and counseling.
 - d. Provide continuing education and community service.
 - e. Provide vocational/occupational education.
 - f. Provide for transfer education.
- 7. What roles do intercollegiate and intramural athletics play?
- 8. What role does religion play?
- 9. Are there any other non-military missions your junior college has assumed? If so, what are they (e.g. moral development, athletic development), and where do they rank in terms of relative importance?
- 10. What are the military missions of both the academy and junior college? How are they integrated with the academic missions?
- 11. How have school missions changed over the last 150 years?

- *12. What are the educational objectives of the institution and how were (are) they established? How often are they reviewed and revised?
- 13. Are there any specific symbols, traditions, or ceremonies especially important to the school? Is there any hazing?
- 14. Are there any especially noteworthy school regulations, rules, or customs?
- 15. Can you relate any heroic exploits, or legendary events that have become part of academy lore?
- 16. Are there any famous or infamous alumni?
- 17. Whom do you see as the institution's constituency? What type of students do you attempt to attract? How do you do so?
- 18. When did the school begin to admit women? Why did the school choose to become coeducational? Have women been members of the cadet corps since they first were admitted?
- 19. When were people of color first admitted to the academy?
- 20. If I were a prospective parent, what reasons would you give me to send my child to the academy? To the junior college? To both?
- 21. What if I were a prospective student?
- 22. How does the school relate to the surrounding community? Has this always been the case? Is there, or has there been any town-gown conflict?

Governance

- *23. What is the public versus private status of the college? What is the institutional history regarding this status? Why was this status selected?
- 24. Does this hold true for the secondary school?
- 25. How are members of your board of trustees appointed? Explain the board's responsibilities, organization, operation, and general importance to the school.
- *26. What is the [official] organizational structure of the institution (most easily depicted on an organizational chart) and what is the history of this structure?
- 27. Is there also an unofficial or informal organization structure? If so, how could it be depicted?

28. Do faculty or staff members hold military rank and wear military uniforms? Why or why not? If faculty or staff hold rank is it official or institutional?

Administration

- *29. Who are the key players on the administrative side of the organizational chart? [The faculty side?]
- *30. What are the prerequisites and/or qualifications necessary to obtain the various positions listed?
- *31. To what extent is the faculty involved in both the daily operation of the institution and in the major administrative, decision-making process, and what provisions exist for that involvement?
- *32. What are the primary sources of financial revenue for the institution and approximately what percentage of the total operating capital comes from each?
33. Are there any restrictions, governmental or otherwise, placed upon the funding or its use? If so, describe the restrictions and their effect on the school's operation.
- *34. Does the ROTC Program provide an additional source of revenue, or is support from that Program limited to materials and supplies (uniforms, weapons, vehicles, etc.)?
- *35. How is the institutional operating budget determined and approximately what percentage of operating expenditures are allotted to the various categories of expenditure (e.g. administration, instruction, etc.)?
36. Do you have a copy of institutional financial documents, for example: an annual income statement, balance sheet, etc., that I may review?
37. Does the financial management of the junior college differ from that of the academy? If so, how? Are endowments earmarked separately? Is income from one division used to balance costs incurred in operating another?
- *38. What are the separate costs by object associated with the attendance of an average cadet, and how have these costs varied over the past?
- *39. What scholarships are available to cadets from both internal and external sources and what are the requirements for obtaining such assistance (eligibility)? What costs do these scholarships cover and what percentage of the present corps of cadets is attending the college on scholarship? [How does this compare historically?]

Students.

- *40. What is the primary reason for student attendance at this type of institution and at this particular institution?
[How does this compare with student reasons of a decade ago? 25 years ago? 50 years ago? 100 years ago? 150 years ago?]
- *41. What is the number of students, if any, referred to this institution at the collegiate level by a judicial body in place of other correctional options? How is such an arrangement made both administratively and financially?
- *42. What are the primary [official] student organizations on this military junior college campus? [What about the secondary schools?] What are the purposes of these organizations and what is their regional/national affiliation?
- 43. Are there any informal, unofficial or legendary organizations? What are their purposes?
- *44. What is the number of different athletic teams at the institution and at what level do they compete? What are the institutional policies regarding athletic participation?
- *45. What are the institutional policies/practices regarding religious participation and observances?
- *46. Does the college operate on an honor system and, if so, is there a formal pledge or written contract signed by the students?

Curriculum and ROTC

- *47. What degrees are offered by this military junior college and in what specific curricular areas (e.g. Associate of Arts Degree in pre-medical, pre-dental, pre-law, etc.)?
- 48. How are secondary studies articulated with junior college work? Is it effective?
- *49. What are the degree requirements for graduation, and are there different level/honors attainable in each program?
- *50. Does the institution have a non-degree program which awards only a graduate's diploma for completion? If such a program exists what are the requirements for completion and in what areas can the diploma be awarded?
- 51. What are the origins of the non-degree program? How many students choose this option? Why? What about in the past?

- *52. What new and/or unique programs exist at this [secondary school]/military junior college which would differentiate it from the others?
- *53. What is the relationship between the academic department(s) and the military department? At what administrative/organizational level do the department heads (chairmen) for these areas exist? Does tension exist between the two departments and, if so, on what is such tension based and what has been (is being) tried to eliminate it?

The cadre and faculty

- *54. What is the general attitude of the military faculty to their nonmilitary faculty counterparts wearing uniforms and possible outranking them based upon the rank criteria established by the [institution]?
- *55. What military rank/grade is provided for faculty members and how is such rank determined? What are the military requirements placed upon the nonmilitary members of the faculty? For example: Ms. Smith signs a contract to teach English 101 - Is she Lieutenant Smith, Captain Smith? Does she wear a military uniform with military insignia of rank? Is she afforded, or more properly phrased, does she demand all the military courtesies afforded to an Army officer (e.g. students rise when she enters the room, saluting, etc.)?
- 56. Are faculty members generally satisfied at Kemper? Do many engage in research activities? Do many want to? Is there a tenure policy? If so, please describe the procedure.
- 57. Is continued faculty scholarship encouraged? How?

General

- 58. Would you describe a typical day or week in your life at the academy?
- 59. Have you been associated with any other military academy or junior college? If so how does this school compare?
- 60. Is there anything important about Kemper that I have forgotten to ask?

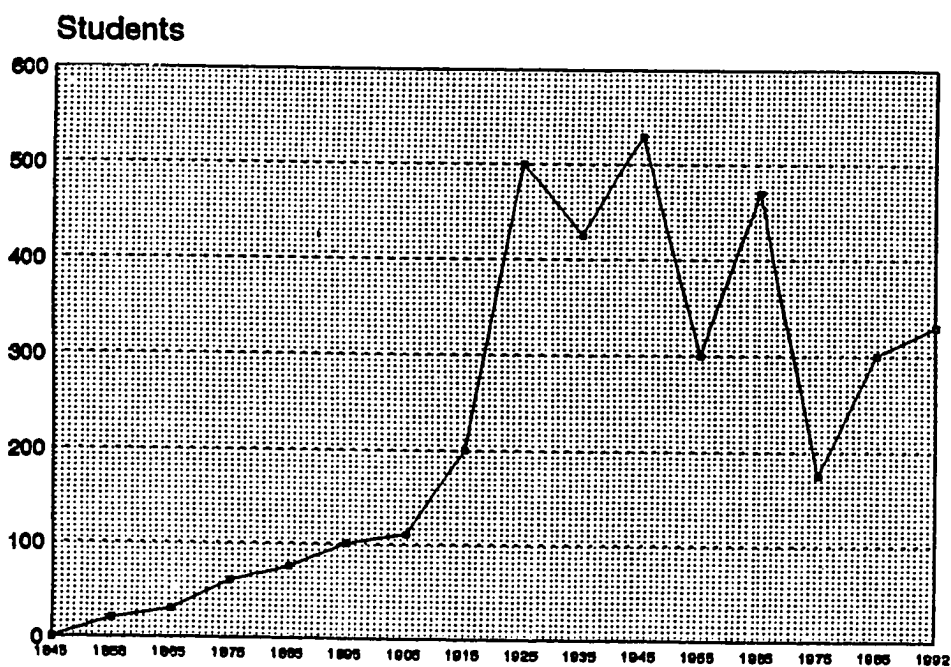
Appendix C

Student Demographic Characteristics

Table 9

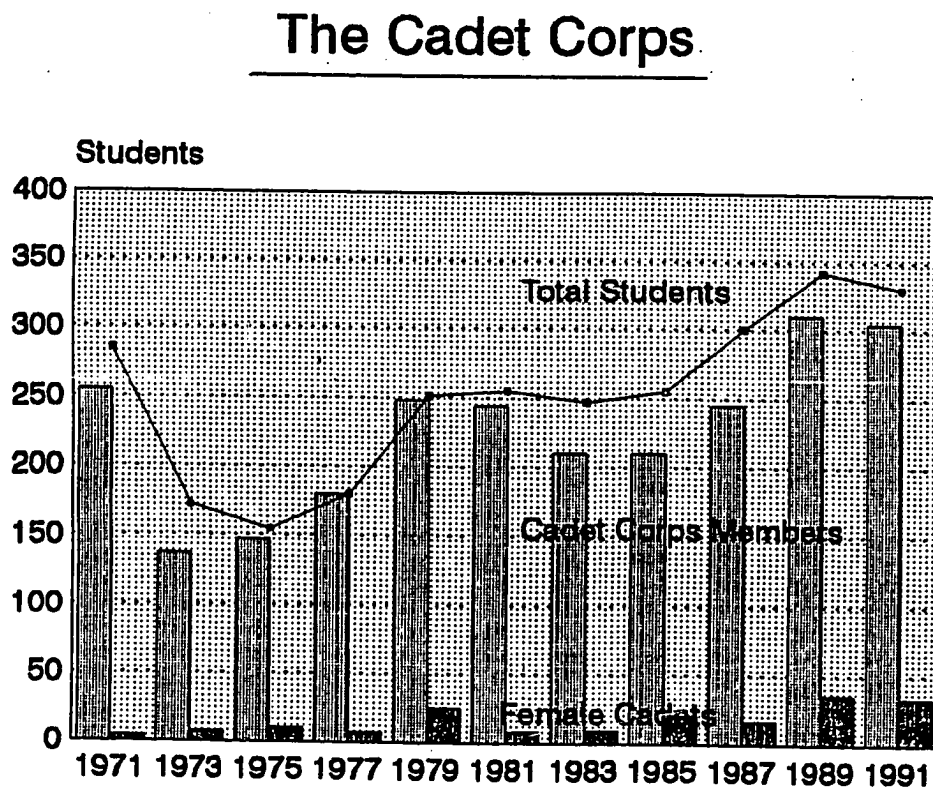
Enrollment Pattern, 1845 -1992

Enrollment Pattern, 1845 - 1992



Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

Table 10

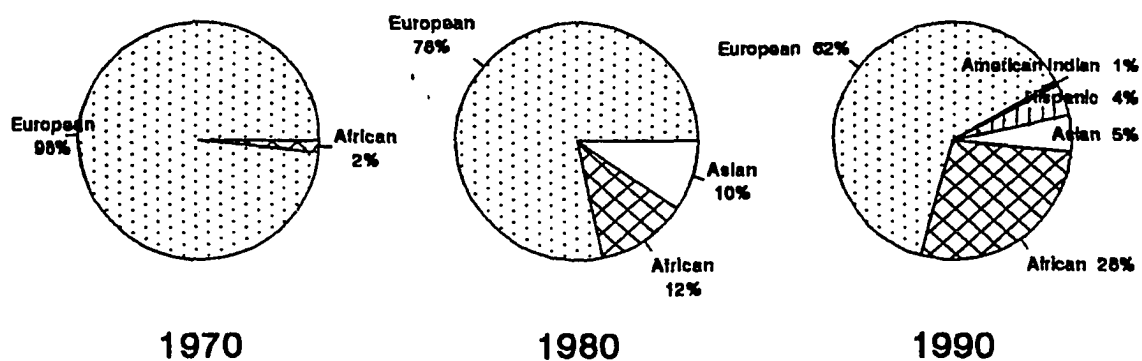
The Cadet Corps

Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

Table 11

Student Ethnic Backgrounds: 1970 - 1990

Student Ethnic Backgrounds, 1970 - 1990

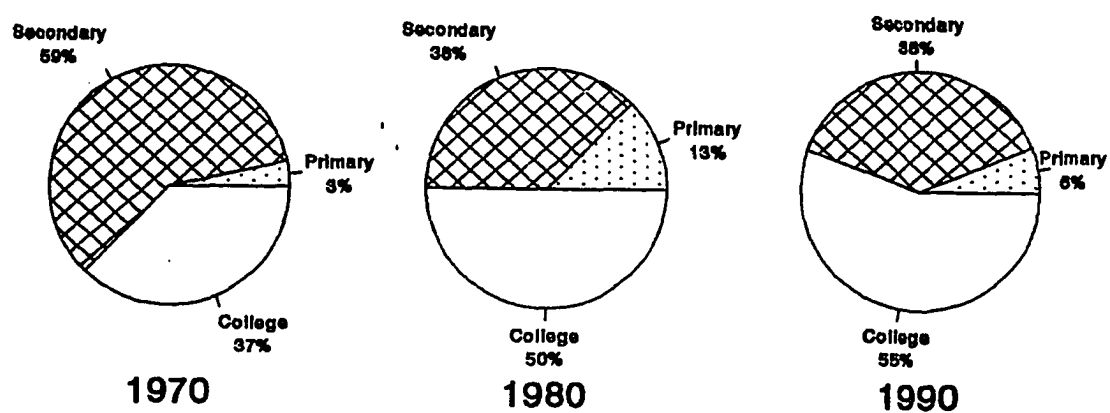


Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

Table 12

Primary, Secondary, College Student Mix: 1970 - 1990

Primary/Secondary/College Student Mix, 1970 - 1990

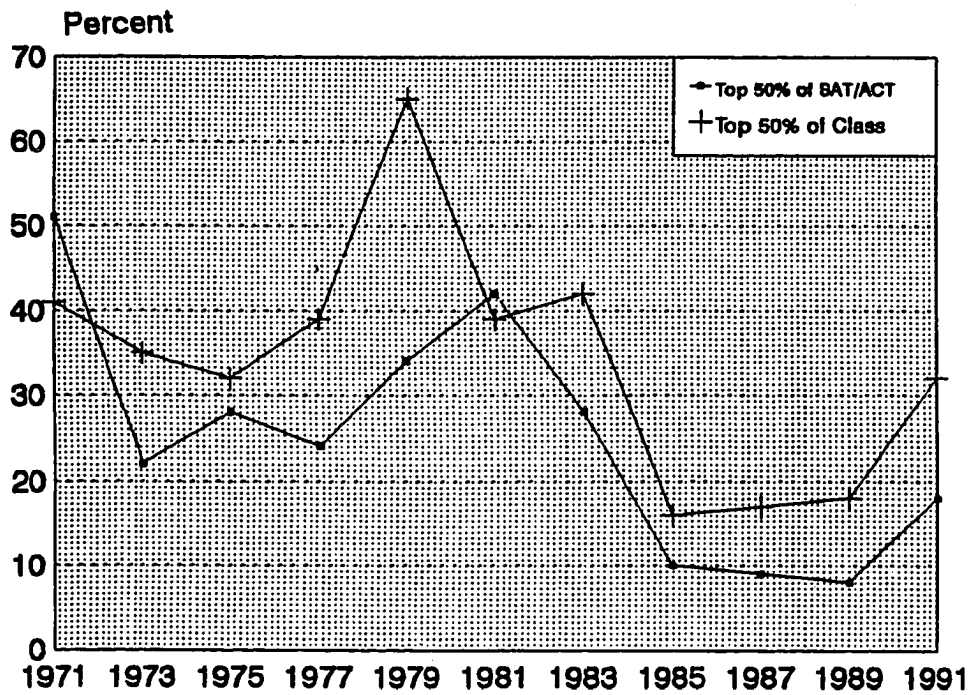


Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

Table 13

Entering College Freshmen: 1971 - 1991

Entering College Freshmen, 1971 - 1991

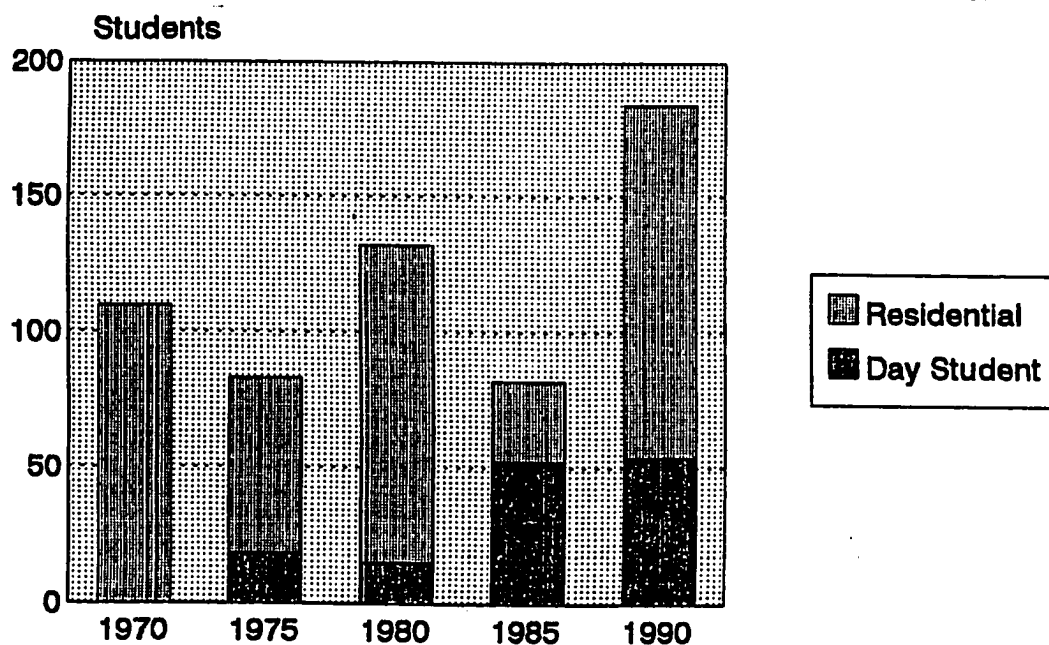


Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

Table 14

Resident and Day College Student Mix: 1970 - 1990

Resident and Day College Student Mix 1970 - 1990

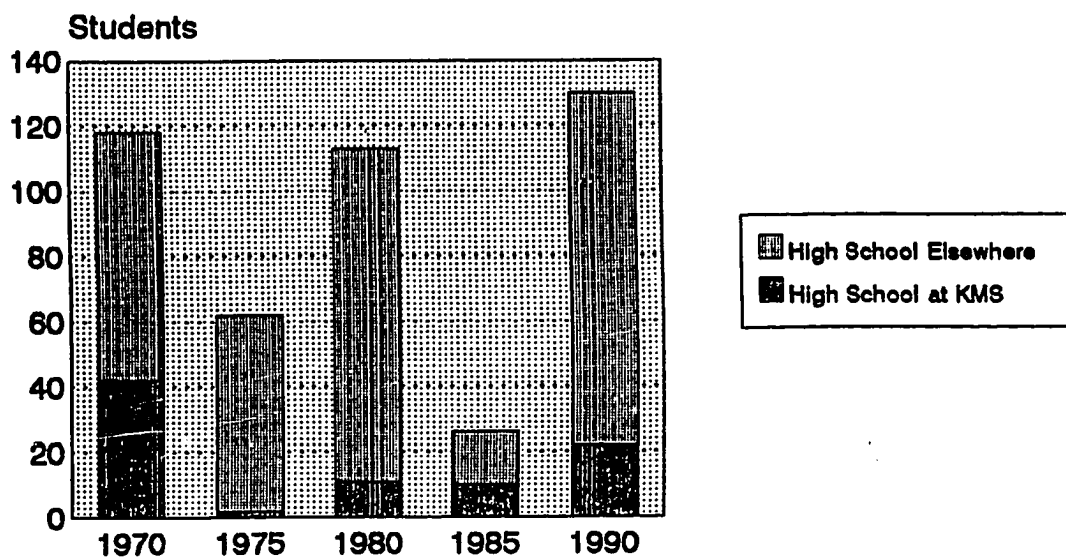


Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

Table 15

High School - College Student Articulation: 1970 - 1990

High School - College Student Articulation 1970 - 1990 Residential College Student Mix



Source: Kemper Military School and College Registrar Files

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